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THE GANI RITUAL OF NUPE: A STUDY IN SOCIAL SYMBIOSIS¹

S. F. NADEL

I

THE *gani* ceremonial, which I propose to discuss in this paper, is not Nupe by origin but was introduced by a small group of immigrants from Bornu, Mohammedans by religion, who, between 1760 and 1770, settled in Nupe country in and around the village of Kutigi. They still call themselves, after their country of origin, *Benú*—the Nupe version of the name for Bornu, but are in every other respect completely Nupeized. The historical facts are reasonably certain: moreover, according to two ethnographical accounts, the people of Bornu still practise a ceremonial called *gani*, though from the reports it is impossible to say how far this ceremonial resembles the Nupe variant.² In Nupe the *gani* is only practised in the few villages where the immigrants now live among the original pagan population, though there it is performed by the whole community together—immigrants and original inhabitants alike. All these facts are important and will receive attention later.

The Nupe *gani* is performed annually. It belongs essentially to the class of ceremonies which anthropologists have come to know as *rites de passage*. Unlike these, however, the *gani* is secular rather than religious in its emphasis, its main theme being the periodical reconstitution of the male age-grades. Let me, then, start with a brief outline of the Nupe age-grade system.³

It must be emphasized, first of all, that the age-grade system is typical of the whole of Nupe and plays a prominent part in the social and political life of the country. The majority of villages have three age-grades: grade I is called *ena dzakangizi*, 'society of children' (aged 10–15); grade II *ena gbarufuzi*, 'society of young men'

¹ An abridged version of this paper was read at the Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, Bruxelles, August 1948.

² See Sir Richmond Palmer, *The Bornu Sahara and Sudan*, 1936, p. 148. This account concerns the Kanuri-speaking peoples of Bornu, with whom the Nupe-Benú claim common descent. The *gani* has also been reported from the Shuwalbe 'clan' (?) of the nomadic Fulbe (or Fulani), whose grazing-lands are

(or were) in Bornu (J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, *The Red Men of Nigeria*, 1930, pp. 116, 123). The latter account mentions one feature of the Fulbe *gani* which also characterizes the Nupe ceremonial, i.e. the period of sexual licence described below on p. 182.

³ For a fuller account I may be allowed to refer to my book on the Nupe (*A Black Byzantium*, 1942 chap. xxii).

(aged 15–20); and grade III *ena ñusazi*, ‘society of the old ones’ (aged 20–30 and mostly already married).¹ The boys below the age of admission to the first grade are known as *wawagizi*, ‘little ones’, and may form similar groups of their own, which are not, however, officially recognized and are spoken of as being ‘only for fun’. The men who leave the highest grade, though they no longer corporately share in the age-grade activities, yet recognize their one-time membership throughout life, being expected to help each other as friends would do, to attend each other’s family feasts, and to take an interest in each other’s political careers. Above all, they keep the titles which they have acquired in the senior grade. This acquisition of titles, with which go definite rights and obligations, is of paramount importance in age-grade life. Each member of an age-grade bears a title bestowed upon him by his fellows. In each grade the titles are arranged in a rigid hierarchy, election to a particular title depending on the success and the popularity the individual youth gains in his age-set. The hierarchy of titles, the corresponding differentiation in duties and privileges, and equally the constant by-play of ambition and rivalry, are all faithfully modelled on the rank system of the adults, which is in turn the most salient feature of Nupe political life. The age-grade responsibilities can thus be regarded as a planned anticipation of adult responsibilities or, as I have called it in my Nupe book, as a typical ‘education for citizenship’.

Grade I constitutes itself simply by all the boys of suitable age joining together (only cripples and backward children being excluded), electing their leader, and distributing the various titles. To be more precise, each grade has two leaders: one, called *etsu* or ‘king’, belongs to the respective age-group and is elected by it; the other, called *ndakotsu*, ‘grandfather of the king’, belongs to the next higher grade, in which he must hold a high rank. In grade III the *ndakotsu* is a man who has already left the age-grades. Each *ndakotsu* holds office for one term only, and before relinquishing his office appoints his own successor from among the group whose leader he had been. The leaders organize all age-grade activities and maintain internal discipline. Parents, incidentally, are allowed no influence either in the running of the age-grades or in the selection of boys for the first grade. During the *gani* you sometimes see anxious fathers or mothers trying to protect their children from the cruel discipline all too liberally enforced on this occasion—an interference which soon collapses. And though a father or elder brother will always help a boy to fulfil the various duties of hospitality towards his age-mates which are expected of him, the age-grades remain a fully autonomous organization of the adolescents. Those adults who play a part in age-grade life do so only in their capacity of retired, high-ranking members of the senior grade.

In most villages the age-grades are subdivided according to locality, each village ward having its own local age-grade associations, whose average membership is 15–20. In the villages here considered (the rule varies slightly) each age-grade lasts six years, and is reconstituted in the seventh. On that occasion a new grade I is formed and the members of the existing grades I and II are promoted *en bloc* to the next higher grade, while the members of grade III retire from age-grade life. This corporate promotion does not mean that everybody keeps the rank held previously;

¹ This method of counting the age-grades seems more convenient than the Nupe method, which follows the reverse order, the most senior grade being called ‘grade I’, &c.

the ranks are reshuffled, some members rising and others going down in rank. No public ceremony is connected with this event, nor is its date rigidly fixed. The reconstitution of the age-grades takes place privately in the house of the retiring *ndakotsu* usually towards the beginning of the rains (I witnessed it in March). At the time, moreover, the promotions in grade and rank are purely private affairs in which no one outside the age-grades takes any interest. It is left to the *gani* to bring these events to the public notice; for it is at this ceremonial, some weeks later, that the young men for the first time publicly appear in their new roles and the community takes cognisance of their changed status. Now, the *gani* is performed annually, while the age-grade promotions only occur every six years; also, the *gani* may seem to represent merely a belated recognition of the formation and reconstitution of the age-grades. But, as we shall see, the *gani* is in many respects a dramatization of these crucial events and so reveals its character of a ceremony of passage and initiation in spite of the seemingly incongruous annual repetition.

2

I saw the *gani* twice, in 1935 and 1936, both times in Kutigi; 1936 also happened to be a promotion year. For the sake of convenience I will here describe the parts played by the various age-grades as they would appear in such a year.

The *gani* lasts three to four days, but the last two are filled mainly with festive activities of a more general kind, not peculiar to this ceremonial, such as singing and dancing, wrestling of the boys, visits to friends and relations, and the like. The whole community attends, men as well as women, and the *gani* also attracts a great many visitors from other villages and even from the capital, Bida, where the ceremonial is not performed. Throughout, the boys and young men are the actors, and all others only onlookers. The drama proper of the *gani* is staged on the first day and repeated on the second. With one exception, no secrecy surrounds the performance.

The secret part of the ceremonial takes place in the late afternoon and involves, on the first day, mainly the recently promoted grade I. An hour or two before this act of the *gani* drama is due to begin the various local associations of the age-grade in question form themselves into processions and move slowly through the village, singing and dancing, and halting for a while in front of the houses of the chief and of certain high-ranking notables. The processions are accompanied by drummers and flute-players and each is led by its *etsu* and *ndakotsu*.¹ Each local association carries its own *gani* standard—a tall wooden pole with some emblem on top. Certain emblems symbolize the male, others the female sex: typical male emblems are a horse tail, a page from the Quran, or a plaited grass mat (these mats being men's work); typical female emblems, a piece of cloth of the kind worn by women, a woman's slipper, or a carved female figure. These standards are brought out only at the *gani*; in between the ceremonials they are kept in the house of an old woman who is the titled head of all the married women in the village. This association of a men's ceremony with the female sex is shown even more strikingly. All the boys belonging to the junior grades (as well as a few of the older youths) masquerade as girls: they wear a girl's head- and hip-cloth, they have stuffed the front of their dress so as to imitate female breasts, and occasionally they walk with an affected mincing gait meant to caricature the typical steps of women's dances. Eventually the several processions

join up and, together, leave the village for a nearby grove. Outside the village the onlookers fall behind, and from here on the procession must not be watched by strangers or women, who, if they happen to come near, are chased away with much shouting and brandishing of sticks. A short distance from the grove the procession halts and only the various *ndakotsu* walk on and enter the grove.

Here the most secret part of the ceremonial is staged which, although it is the clue to the subsequent proceedings, is never seen by anyone save the men and youths holding the office of *ndakotsu* (the present writer being an exception). It takes the form of a symbolic burial in which a rolled-up length of cloth represents the corpse, and another length of cloth the shroud. Everything is done in silence. The pieces of cloth, which one of the men has brought concealed on his body, are placed on the ground and the men sit down to pray briefly over the 'body' and tell their beads in Moslem fashion. Afterwards the oldest man present utters the usual blessing formula of all Nupe ceremonials, pagan or Mohammedan: 'May the village prosper, may the village have health'; whereupon everybody gets up, the cloth is once more hidden away, and the men return to the waiting group outside. Now the following dialogue takes place amidst the most tremendous excitement. The waiting crowd asks, in a confused chorus: 'Where is the little boy?' The men answer: 'We have carried the little boy (to the grave); he is dead.'¹ On hearing this, the crowd bursts into loud wailing, exhibits all the conventional gestures of mourning, and realistically simulates intense grief. This is kept up when, shortly afterwards, the procession returns to the village, until the wailing gradually subsides and is submerged in the general excitement and hilarity characteristic of a later phase of the ceremonial.

As the procession approaches the village its movements cease to be secret and the *gani* resumes its public character. On the outskirts the returning procession is met by another, formed in the meantime inside the village, and composed of the senior age-grade. This procession, too, has its drummers and musicians, but carries no standards, and certain of the youths masquerade, not as girls, but as horsemen, riding a sort of hobby-horse, and as warriors, wearing make-believe armour. The two processions merge into one and move slowly to an open square outside the chief's house, the 'horsemen' leading and the 'armoured men' forming a chain to hold back the onlookers.

Everyone is conscious of the meaning of this masquerade and readily identifies the roles of these dressed-up youths as being modelled on real life. Thus the hobby-horse masques are said to lead the procession 'because horsemen always go ahead to be the first when meeting strangers' (or enemies); and the 'armoured men' have the task of holding back the crowds 'as police would do'. The style of these masques, incidentally, is not rigidly laid down. Slight changes are permitted, as I could witness myself during the two performances I watched.

A third role allocated to this age-grade emerges a little later, when a number of youths appear carrying a canopy, the cloth of which is the 'shroud' used in the symbolic burial. No particular meaning, however, is attached to the latter fact, the

¹ The actual word is *ndakogi*, lit. 'little grandfather', by which term the Nupe commonly refer to little boys. All this part of the ceremony is spoken of quite earnestly as the 'burial of *ndakogi*'. Once,

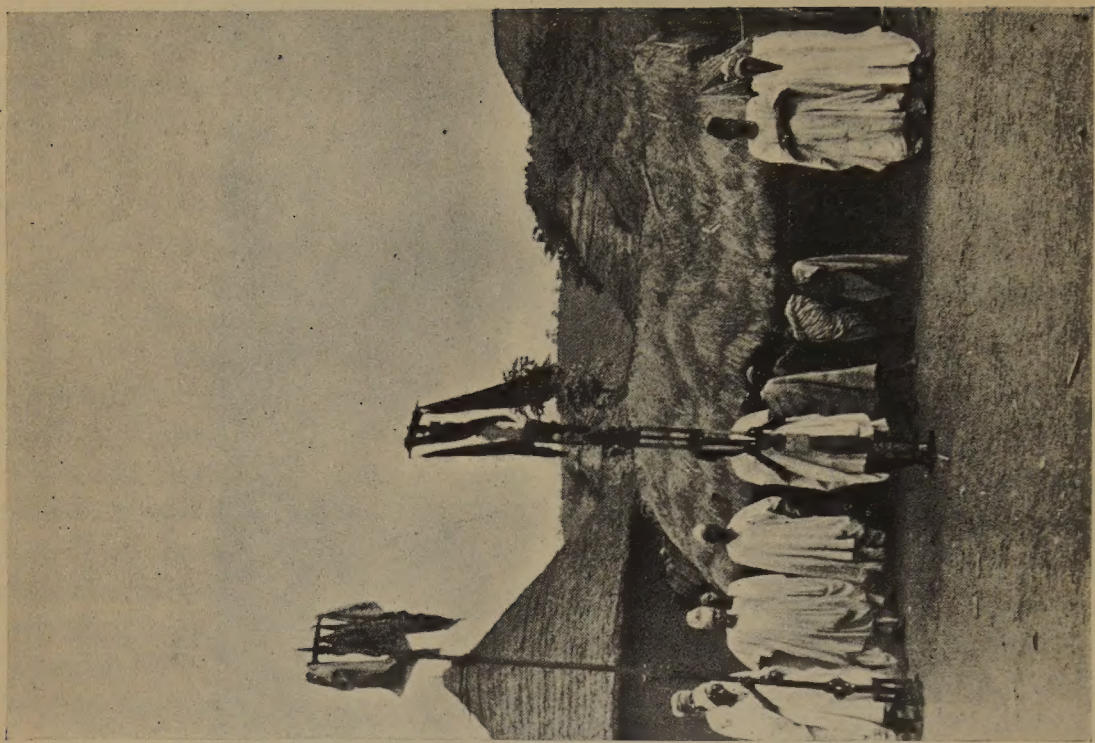
when there had been some delay in the proceedings, I heard people ask: 'Has the little boy been buried yet?' in exactly the same manner in which they might inquire about a real burial.



THE SYMBOLIC BURIAL



THE 'CANOPY'



TWO *Gani* STANDARDS



THE 'ARMOURED MEN' IN THE *Gani* PROCESSION

canopy assuming a different, new significance. For it now becomes the aim of all the younger boys to squeeze under the canopy, while the older boys carrying it try by all possible means to keep out the intruders. Once a boy manages to get underneath, he is safe and will in turn defend his place against all comers. The 'warriors' guard the approaches, holding hands so as to make a human chain—which is constantly being assailed and repeatedly broken. This battle for the canopy is fought with the utmost realism, almost literally with tooth and nail, with sticks and whips, at the cost of many a torn dress and bleeding head. All this takes place amidst a packed mass of onlookers, in which not only the anthropologist finds it difficult to keep track of the sequence of events. Somehow the 'battle for the canopy' changes into a ring-dance in which both boys and girls, men and women, join. Now the boys have thrown off their girl's dresses, and the two sexes meet undisguised in the dance. When it grows dark the crowd thins out to adjourn to their houses for the evening meal. Later the people foregather again, this time for a wrestling-match of the youths which goes on far into the night and concludes the day's programme.

One feature of the dance and the preceding 'battle' must be specially noted. Until then the songs sung by the youths were nondescript and in no way unusual. E.g.:

(Sung when waiting for the procession to the grove to be formed):

Sa-la-laa, sa-la-laa, Greetings, greetings,
Gani woro gani, the *gani* is a new *gani*,
Sa-la-laa,
A la be a, not all have come yet.

(Sung when waiting for the 'burial' of the 'little boy'):

Fako to buca, Family farmwork and individual farmwork
Nanana nanayé, (meaningless)
Sabon dashi, the new savings association (in Hausa)
Sabon wondo, the new . . . (?)

But when the wailing for the 'little boy' has come to an end and the final dance begins, the boys, later joined by the girls, sing songs of most staggering obscenity. They consist of short ditties like these:

(Boys) *Dzuko gani*, The vagina (makes) *gani*,
Dzuko nuwā nyahī, the water of the vagina is filthy,
Dzuko nuwā kpasa, the water of the vagina dribbles.

(Girls) *Eba tigi lokpo*, The penis weeps and goes to its hiding-place (in the vagina).

It must be added that even small boys and girls, aged perhaps 8 or 10, know perfectly well what these words mean, and in fact explained them to me with relish. I call their obscenity staggering because such language is simply unheard of on normal occasions, let alone from the lips of the young; for the Nupe are rather prudish, hardly ever touching upon sex in their conversation, not even jokingly, and the children always look away or giggle in an embarrassed fashion when anyone mentions a sexual topic in their presence. But on this occasion the boys not only sing these songs but also bandy filthy language with the women and tease them, to the obvious enjoyment of all, with obscene gestures and remarks. This sexual licence goes beyond mere words and gestures. During the *gani* normal morality is in abeyance; any man can

sleep with any woman, and the women wait for a chance lover who will choose them for the night. A husband who complained would only make himself ridiculous; as one of my informants put it: 'During the *gani* you can sleep with any man's wife under his nose, and he would not notice it.' Having several times witnessed the bedlam of the later stages of the *gani* I can fully believe this statement. It is interesting to note that intoxication plays no part in the general excitement; very little beer or palm-wine is consumed during the *gani*, and no one is drunk or even moderately inebriated.

The second day of the *gani* is an almost exact copy of the first, with this difference: the part of the promoted grade I is taken by the boys who have only just entered the age-grade organization. It is they, therefore, who are concerned in the procession to the grove, and the secret ceremonial is referred to, not as the burial of the 'little boy', but as the burial of the 'little girl'.

The programme of the third day contains only one item that need be specially noted. On this day the heads of the various age-grade associations visit all the houses of the political rank-holders in the village, offering salutations and receiving gifts of food in return. The food is afterwards consumed by the age-grades at small, private gatherings.

3

It will be agreed, I think, that certain features of the *gani* bear an obvious symbolism not unknown in other societies. The death and burial of the 'little girl' dramatize the fundamental break in the life of the young boy when he outgrows infancy, that is, an age during which he is mainly his mother's child and is treated much as girls are treated. Similarly, the burial of the 'little boy' indicates the break with early boyhood and another step towards full adoption into the male society.¹ In a more general manner this change of role is also symbolized in the girls' dresses worn in the earlier part of the ceremony and discarded later, when the sexes meet, as it were, in their own right during the final dance. The 'battle for the canopy' expresses the same *leitmotif* of adolescence and acceptance into a more mature age-set, though here the emphasis is shifted to the individual's ability to gain admission through physical courage and competition of a ruthless kind—which strikes one as an appropriate symbolism for the hierarchical order of the Nupe age-grades and indeed of Nupe social life at large, and as a fitting test of manhood as the Nupe conceive this ideal.

Perhaps I should add that when I speak of symbolism and dramatization I do not mean merely an idle pantomime but the purposeful mimicry of events and forms of behaviour relevant for group life. Through being exaggerated, the mimicry becomes more impressive, and through being enacted in circumstances of great emotional tension, it is capable of influencing and guiding behaviour in real life. The play-acting thus conveys a moral, and the mimicry presents *models for behaviour*. The meaning of the 'models' is always evident to the actors, though the analogies involved vary in directness. When the youths play the parts of warriors and horsemen, that is, parts simply taken over from real life (or what used to be real life), the analogy is

¹ In the classical *rites de passage* the symbolic death of the novices is followed by their symbolic resurrection, thus dramatizing their separation from one social group as well as their acceptance into another.

The latter aspect receives no formal expression in the *gani*. What we find is only the tacit implication that the 'death', i.e. the social 'separation', no longer matters when the mourning ends.

straightforward; it rests only on a verbal identification in the burial of the 'little girl' and the 'little boy'; and it seems most circuitous in the battle for the canopy, which merely conveys the knowledge that seniors can be competed with and ousted, and that the prize falls to the most ruthless.

The sexual licence does not quite fit into this picture; for it clearly cannot be meant as a model of behaviour as it should be. Yet even though the freedom of sexual behaviour is distorted, concern with sex is thus demonstrated as another concomitant of maturity. This feature of the *gani* then, like the rest of its symbolism, bears out the character of the ceremonial as a rite of passage and initiation.

Since the sexual licence offered in the *gani* does not concern the novices alone, it must carry also another meaning—that of a periodical release from the norms or restrictions of everyday life. This feature, too, is familiar from other primitive societies and need not occupy us further in the present context. Let me add that the period of sexual licence is not peculiar to the *gani*; it occurs also in much the same form in another traditional ritual, the *gunnu*, which is performed by all the pagan sections of the tribe.¹ And here we meet with this significant correlation: in the Nupe villages which perform the *gani*, the *gunnu*—elsewhere the most important annual ceremony—is reduced to a minor, occasional ritual; it is performed mainly in the event of drought, on a small scale, and without the period of sexual licence. The *gani*, an originally alien cult, has thus absorbed certain essential features of the more widespread and indigenous ceremonial, and partly replaced it. This brings us back to a point touched upon at the beginning—the transplantation of the *gani* to its present setting.

4

Considering only those Nupe sections which practise the *gani*, the successful outcome of this transplantation presents no particular problem. For the *gani*, dramatizing and ritualizing male adolescence, elaborates a theme congenial to Nupe culture, and hence would easily fall into place. Moreover, the traditional culture of Nupe has no ritual elaborating this theme as fully and specifically. The immigrants, who in every other respect adopted the Nupe way of life, thus preserved in the *gani* a ceremonial strikingly appropriate to it; while the original population living with the immigrants must have accepted the *gani* as a desirable addition to their culture and even as an improvement upon it: the absorption by the *gani* of certain features of the older ritual, the *gunnu*, can mean nothing else. Whether the ceremonial in its original form already carried the meaning of an age-grade ritual or only proved easily adaptable to such a role, I cannot decide. But we can safely say that the imported ceremonial came to fit admirably into the pre-existing social structure. We need make only one assumption, namely, that for any social group the ritualization of its structure is as such desirable and attractive, or, expressed differently, that the ritual buttressing of the social structure is a general, or at least widespread, tendency of societies. This assumption is widely supported by anthropological evidence, and I need not pursue this point farther.

So far, this transplantation of a cultural trait does not seem to go much beyond the familiar processes of 'acculturation' or 'selective borrowing'. The fact remains,

¹ See my description of the *gunnu* ritual in *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, lxvii, 1937.

of course, that, although the ritualization offered by the *gani* would have fitted equally admirably into the social structure of the rest of Nupe, it did not spread that far but remained limited to the few communities where the carriers of the new trait happened to settle. But this, I presume, could be easily explained by one of those accidents of diffusion which always seem to happen.

Yet this is not the whole picture nor the whole explanation. The *gani* has in fact been adopted by Nupe society at large, though in an indirect and essentially symbolic fashion, through being incorporated in the Nupe calendar. The Nupe call each month of the year by a special name, and to-day two months are known as the Month-preceding-the-*gani* and the Month-of-the-*gani* respectively.¹ Let me also recall that people from other districts travel to the villages performing the *gani* on purpose to watch the celebration; generally speaking, everything about the *gani*, when it is performed, where, and by whom, is known all over Nupe.

These statements must be qualified. When referring to Nupe society at large I have in mind only the Nupe State and those sections of the tribe which form part of Nupe Kingdom. Outside it, the *gani* is unknown or evokes little interest; nor is it mentioned in the version of the calendar used in those parts. This limitation is significant; for though the age-grade system is embodied in the culture of the whole Nupe tribe it has not everywhere the same importance. Above all, it does not everywhere reflect the same political background. Promotion in political rank is only in the kingdom a pervasive and fervent ideal, pursued by everyone and almost overshadowing all other interests. Only in the kingdom, therefore, do the age-grades elaborate a truly 'dominant theme' of social life.

The situation then is this. The organization of male adolescence, important throughout Nupe society, has found in the *gani* its congenial expression and, as it were, its ritual focus. In spite of this the practice of the *gani* did not extend to the society as a whole. And again, in spite of the local restriction of the ceremonial and its alien origin, the people everywhere recognize the *gani* as a practice concerning them and having meaning for them also. I am tempted to say 'because of' rather than 'in spite of'; for here we meet with a specific sociological principle which expresses precisely this combination of adoption and non-adoption and which corresponds, not to a process of cultural assimilation fortuitously cut short, but to a definite manner of canalizing such processes. What was originally the cultural possession of the immigrants has become incorporated into the cultural possessions of the hosts. But it was incorporated in a special way, namely, as an institution which belonged to a section, remained vested in that section, yet also came to be expected of it. The *gani* ceremonial, in other words, is acknowledged by Nupe society as a contribution which this particular section can make to the cultural life of the group as a whole.

The incorporation is not, as it were, finally clinched: it lacks the aspect of necessity. The contribution of the *gani* ceremonial to Nupe cultural life is not felt to be a necessary part of it; it is not conceived of as a task vital for the existence or well-being of the whole society and undertaken, for its sake, by one particular section. The *gani* still has something of the character of a local curiosity—somewhat like the passion-plays of Bavaria to which people from all over Europe used to flock. And

¹ This is, significantly, true of the modern calendar only; the traditional version uses a different nomenclature containing no reference to the *gani*.

this brings me to my last point. I propose to show that it is only a step from the *gani* type of situation, where the cultural contribution of one section is merely acknowledged by the group at large, to one where this contribution is felt to be vital.

5

We find instances close at hand in the same villages which perform the *gani*. Here the population is divided into three segments each of which claims distinct descent and, in virtue of this descent, the possession of specific ceremonies and supernatural powers. One segment is that of the hunters who 'own' (as the Nupe say) a ritual called *zikinta*, which is believed to cure disease and barrenness, and is also performed at the installation of a new chief. The second segment is that of the *kintsozi*, or 'owners of the land', who claim to have been the first settlers and practise the *gunnu* ritual concerned with rain and the fertility of the land. The two rituals are performed only by the groups in question and normally in secrecy. The third segment is composed of the Benu people, who, besides 'owning' the *gani*, also furnish the village chief and all the more important office-holders. Although the other two segments equally join in the *gani* and share in the age-grades, the spiritual ownership of the ceremonial is never obscured: the officiants in the secret part of the *gani* are always Benu men; the symbolic burial service follows the Mohammedan rite, that is, the religion of the Benu; while the procession to the houses of the Benu chief and notables at least recalls the provenance of the ceremonial. Now each of these rituals is conceived of as being vital to the life of the community. Without the *zikinta* there can be no prevention of disease and no prospering of the chiefs; without the *gunnu*, no safeguarding of the rain and of fertility; without the *gani*, no initiation of the youths and no continuity of age-grade life. Remember also the final blessing formula uttered at the secret part of the *gani*: it expresses, however slightly, the bearing of the ceremonial upon the prosperity of the community. That the Benu are Mohammedans while the other sections are pagans, so that rituals belonging to different creeds are here brought together, only underlines this interlocking of diverse cultural possessions for the benefit of the community at large.

The absorption of the *gani* in the life of Nupe is thus repeated within this narrower compass. Again, the cultural possessions of sections are acknowledged by the whole community. But here they are also *utilized*—as contributions necessary for the well-being of all—as definite tasks which do not merely happen to be vested in the respective sections but are apportioned and, as it were, *delegated* to them, so that the community as a whole may thrive and continue. As a result each section is made dependent upon the others; all are held together by the division of vital social tasks; and the heterogeneous community is re-structured into an integrated system.

I have spoken elsewhere of this particular form of integration as 'social symbiosis'.¹ In that context I also attempted to relate the ritual and religious interdependence, which the present examples exhibit, to similar forms of interdependence in the economic sphere and, especially, in intermarriage, exogamy, and hence clan organization. The religious aspect will probably always be found to be the most important; for it is from religious foundations that the crucial conception of a necessity binding

¹ See 'Social Symbiosis and Tribal Organisation', *Man*, 1938, 85.

the group segments together would seem to evolve most easily and with the greatest force of conviction.

In the present paper I have described only what might be called a borderline case. But I am certain that a great many such borderline cases can be found. They show, as much as do the more precise instances of social symbiosis, the wide effectiveness of this principle in the formation of primitive societies. To sum up. This principle is effective whenever the familiar mechanisms of group fusion and cultural assimilation operate in a special way, namely, when groups merge while maintaining their heterogeneity—which is reinterpreted in terms of a *division of social tasks*; and whenever groups absorb each other's cultural possessions, not by mutual assimilation, but by *segmentary apportionment and delegation*.

Résumé

LE RITE GANI DES NUPE (NOUPÉ): UNE ÉTUDE DE SYMBIOSE SOCIALE

Le rite *gani*, aujourd'hui une partie intégrale de la culture Nupe dans la Nigéria du Nord, a ses origines parmi les peuples de Bornou, où, au fait, il survit encore. Combien ce rite fait partie intégrale de la vie culturelle Nupe est attesté par le fait que les noms de deux mois du calendrier Nupe en sont dérivés, et qu'une des institutions centrales des Nupe, le système de classes d'âge, a pour rite de passage particulier le *gani*. Cependant, tout en étant étroitement tissé dans la vie sociale des Nupe, le rite *gani* n'est pas exécuté par toutes les sections de la tribu mais reste la prérogative du groupe immigrant de Bornou qui l'ont introduit. L'exécution du rite représente une obligation 'déléguée' à cette communauté comme tâche sociale envers la tribu entière. Sur une plus petite échelle, le même principe caractérise d'autres traits essentiels de la vie sociale Nupe, révélant des sections de diverses origines, de cultures différentes, reliées par la dépendance réciproque de leurs activités rituelles. Ce principe, qui semble avoir une application étendue parmi les sociétés primitives, peut être décrit par le terme 'symbiose sociale'.

SOME ASPECTS OF INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1925-46¹

CYRIL SOFER

INTRODUCTION

WHERE racial antipathies exist there is a tendency on the part of the dominant group to avoid personal contacts with the subordinate race or races. This is perhaps especially the case in the intimate relationship of marriage. The study of inter-racial marriage data may therefore provide useful indices to changes in caste and class relationships in multi-racial communities. In this paper figures are presented for racial intermarriage in the Union of South Africa since 1925, the year in which it became compulsory to state the race of the contracting parties, and suggestions are made as to possible reasons for the trends which can be observed.²

The four racial groups concerned are Europeans, Bantu, Asiatics (of whom the majority are South African born Indians), and Coloureds. A special comment regarding the last-named is necessary in view of the ambiguity of the term 'Coloured', and in view also of the confusion which exists outside the Union about the composition and origins of this racial group. The term 'Coloured' is, for instance, sometimes thought to refer to or to include the Bantu-speaking Native tribes of South Africa, or, alternatively, to refer only to European-Bantu half-castes. In fact, this designation excludes the former entirely, and includes the latter only as a small proportion of a much larger group. It covers a residual population category excluding Europeans, Natives, and Asiatics but including the remnants of such aboriginal stocks as Hottentots and Bushmen.

When, at the 1936 Census, every person completing a form in respect of 'Coloured Persons and Persons of Mixed Race' was required to state 'the particular branch or section of the Coloured Race to which he or she belongs', 75 per cent. described themselves as Cape Coloured, 11 per cent. as Hottentot, and 4 per cent. each as Cape Malay and Griqua.³ These were the only elements constituting more than 1 per cent. The formation of the Cape Coloured people has been described by Professor J. S. Marais,⁴ who shows that their ancestors consisted of Malay and African slaves, Hottentots, Europeans, and Bushmen in that order of numerical importance. The term 'Cape Coloured' is applied not only to Cape Province residents, but also to persons of the same ancestral type who migrated to the three northern provinces in the days of the Boer Voortrekkers or subsequently. Moreover, many of the Coloureds living in the northern provinces were born in the Cape; the proportions of Cape-born Coloureds in the Transvaal, Natal, and Orange Free State were, in 1936, 32, 18, and

¹ The marriage figures for years 1925-38 were extracted from the annual Union Government Reports on Vital Statistics. The information for 1939-46 was kindly supplied in advance of publication by the Director of Census and Statistics.

² There is no law against inter-racial marriages in the Union, though marriages of Europeans with

non-Europeans may not be solemnized in the Transvaal. A Bill to prohibit such marriages has, however, passed its second reading in the Union Parliament (*The Times*, 26 May, 1949).

³ 1936 Census, U.G. 12/42, vol. 9, p. 139.

⁴ *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1939.

19 per cent. respectively.¹ The description 'Hottentot' refers to the remnants of one of 'the few pure-blooded' stocks,² as they are described in the 1936 Census, though with the reservation that 'few of the Hottentots . . . are pure'.³ Many Hottentots were absorbed into the Cape Coloured, while others have been absorbed into the Griquas. It seems that the section enumerated as Hottentots differs from the other Coloured groups mainly in the degree in which they have preserved distinct Hottentot ethnic traits and a tradition of racial distinctiveness. The first Malays in South Africa were slaves imported from the Dutch East India Company's sphere of influence in the East during the later decades of the seventeenth century. Later, the name 'Malay' came to be applied not only to descendants of persons from the Malay Archipelago but to all adherents of the Mohammedan religion at the Cape. The Griqua ancestors were, in the first place, 'Bastard' Hottentots (children of frontier Boers and Hottentot women) who established themselves in separate communities during the early eighteenth century. At various times these communities were joined by 'pure' Hottentots, free blacks, runaway slaves, and Europeans.

Since the early nineteenth century the Coloured have been closely associated with the European economy and have shared the European way of life, though on a poorer and restricted level. Until fairly recently they may be said to have occupied an intermediate social status between European and Bantu. By the time the Bantu population became orientated towards the westernized society, Coloureds already had considerable experience of European techniques, languages, and customs. Moreover, their traditional alinement with Europeans in wars and skirmishes with hostile aborigines had helped to establish them as appendages of the white man. They had long since taken the step from servitude and most of them were the legal equals of Europeans. These advantages were sufficient to ensure to the Coloured a position in the social structure distinctly superior to that of the Bantu. But the events of the last forty years have seriously undermined, and current events are continuing to undermine, this superiority. This process is particularly associated with the great egress of the Bantu from the segregated areas of the Reserves⁴ and with the creation of a system of industrial legislation and administration which has done considerable damage to Coloured occupational opportunities and aspirations.

The table below shows the numerical distribution of the four main racial groups between the four Provinces at the date of the 1946 Census. In inspecting the table it should be remembered that 40 per cent.⁵ of the Natives are in 'Native Areas', in which no one other than a Native may acquire rights to land, and therefore do not come into contact with members of other racial groups.

TABLE I

<i>Race</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>Cape</i>	<i>Transvaal</i>	<i>Natal</i>	<i>O.F.S.</i>
European .	2,372,690	870,795	1,063,121	236,697	202,077
Native .	7,805,592	2,330,377	3,110,743	1,703,979	660,493
Coloured .	928,484	829,550	59,986	24,895	14,053
Asiatic .	285,260	15,174	37,758	232,317	11

¹ 1936 Census, U.G. 24/42, vol. 5, p. xxii.

² Ibid., vol. 1, p. viii.

³ Ibid., vol. 9, p. xxv.

⁴ Large numbers have also migrated to South

Africa from territories beyond its borders.

⁵ Report of the Native Laws Commission, 1946-8, U.G. 28/48.

RACIAL INTERMARRIAGE AMONG THE COLOURED POPULATION

The subject of racial intermarriage in South Africa is discussed here mainly from the point of view of the Coloured population. This approach is chosen for a number of reasons. In the first place, the Coloured people are almost certainly the group to which the largest number of children produced by mixed marriages and other inter-racial unions gravitate. Whatever the extent of 'passing' (deliberate and successful attempts by non-Europeans to gain acceptance into the European group by concealment of their racial origins), which is in any case unlikely to occur among first-generation hybrids because of their easy identification, there is little doubt that the great majority of children of mixed parentage have been absorbed into the Coloured.

Secondly, mixed marriages are specially important to the Coloured because, in the great majority of cases these marriages are between a Coloured person on the one hand and a member of another race. This is apparent from Table II below.

TABLE II
Number and Proportion of all Mixed Marriages which involve Coloureds

Year	Number of mixed marriages	Number involving Coloureds	Proportion (per cent.) involving Coloureds
1925	446	422	94.6
1930	447	422	94.4
1935	516	502	97.3
1940	748	729	97.5
1945	849	832	98.0
1946	823	798	97.0

In the ten-year period 1937-46 there were 7,712 mixed marriages, of which 95.9 per cent. (7,393) involved a Coloured partner.

Thirdly, Coloured outmarriages constitute a larger proportion of marriages involving Coloured than do the outmarriages of any other group to its own total of marriages. This is brought out in Tables III-VII below.

TABLE III
Number of Coloured Outmarriages and Proportion of these to all Marriages involving Coloureds

Year	Number of marriages involving Coloureds	Number of these which are out-marriages	Proportion of out-marriages
1925	4,385	422	9.6
1930	5,211	422	8.1
1935	5,786	502	8.7
1940	7,533	729	9.7
1945	7,586	832	11.0
1946	8,353	798	9.6

TABLE IV
Number of European Outmarriages and Proportion of these to all Marriages involving Europeans

Year	Number of marriages involving Europeans	Number of these which are out-marriages	Proportion of out-marriages
1925	14,135	133	0.9
1930	16,702	97	0.5
1935	20,690	91	0.4
1940	28,492	105	0.4
1945	24,163	92	0.4
1946	28,385	77	0.3

TABLE V

Number of Asiatic Outmarriages and Proportion of these to all Marriages involving Asiatics

Year	Number of marriages involving Asiatics	Number of these which are out-marriages	Proportion of out-marriages
1925	1,082	52	4·8
1930	1,379	71	5·1
1935	1,446	65	4·4
1940	1,980	107	5·4
1945	2,167	146	6·7
1946	1,996	122	6·1

TABLE VI

Number of Native Outmarriages and Proportion of these to all Registered Marriages involving Natives

Year	Number of registered marriages involving Natives	Number of these which are outmarriages	Proportion of out-marriages
1925	12,008	285	2·4
1930	13,078	304	2·3
1935	15,537	374	2·4
1940	19,508	555	2·8
1945	22,129	628	3·0
1946	21,934	649	3·0

TABLE VII

Total Number of Marriages involving each Race, 1937-46, and Proportion of these which were Outmarriages

Race	Number of marriages in which race concerned	Number of these which were out-marriages	Proportion of out-marriages
Coloured . .	73,843	7,485	10·1
European . .	244,096	947	0·4
Asiatic . .	19,332	1,180	6·1
Native . .	200,725	5,812	2·9

On the basis of the figures for 1937-46 it can be said that of every 10,000 marriages involving Coloured, 1,014 are outmarriages; of every 10,000 marriages involving Europeans, 39 are outmarriages; of every 10,000 marriages involving Asiatics, 610 are outmarriages; of every 10,000 registered marriages involving Natives, 210 are outmarriages.

ANALYSIS OF INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGE

It is interesting to begin an analysis of inter-racial marriage in South Africa by trying to relate the available data to the hypothesis examined by Wirth and Goldhamer, 'namely that the smaller the ration of a minority race to the rest of the population the greater will be the amount of outmarriage. Where a minority racial group constitutes a very small percentage of the total population, the amount of inter-racial contact appears to be greater. Under such conditions there is less tendency toward strict segregation and less opportunity for the small racial group to develop an autonomous society within the larger society.'¹

The term 'amount of outmarriage' is an ambiguous one, for it may be taken to

¹ 'The Hybrid and the Problem of Miscegenation' in *Characteristics of the American Negro*, ed. O. Klineberg, p. 278.

mean one of a number of things: for instance, the actual number of outmarriages contracted, the proportion which this number bears to the total number of marriages contracted by one or other of the groups involved, or the proportion which this number bears to all marriages contracted within the whole society. These are by no means the same thing and do not necessarily lead to the same conclusions—for instance, Asiatics are third among the four South African racial groups in the number of outmarriages they contract, but second in the proportion which their outmarriages bear to all their marriages. In this paper I shall follow Wirth and Goldhamer in their apparent use of 'amount of intermarriage' to mean number of inter-racial marriages.

The phrase 'minority racial group' also raises a difficulty. In work published before 'The Hybrid and the Problem of Miscegenation', D. Young uses the term 'minority group' in a generic sense to designate not a numerical entity but a population group 'distinguished from the dominant group by differentiating biological features of racial origin or by alien cultural traits or by a combination of both'. Wirth and Goldhamer refer presumably to communities in which there exist 'minorities' in the numerical as well as in the generic sense, but there is no *prima-facie* reason why the hypothesis should be inapplicable where the 'minority' out-numbers the 'majority'.

Presumably also, the minority ratio hypothesis should be interpreted with a generous *ceteris paribus* clause relating to such conditions as spatial contiguity. Not only relative size of the groups involved, but also the physical distances separating them must condition 'the amount of inter-racial contact' and, ultimately, the frequency of intermarriage. For instance, the distance separating Bantu Native Area dwellers from the bulk of the other groups virtually excludes the possibility of direct social contact, sexual relations, and intermarriage in a large number of cases. (The relative isolation of Native Area dwellers from the other racial groups raises the question of whether it is advisable to refer to the total Native population or only to that section enumerated outside the Native Areas as the relevant group to be considered in a discussion of this type.)

From the point of view of number of outmarriages, the rank order is Coloured, Native, Asiatic, European, though their rank order of size (even with Native Area dwellers excluded)—is Native, European, Coloured, Asiatic. That Asiatics, as the smallest group, do not contract the largest number of outmarriages is probably related to the fact that they, to a large degree, appear to have participated in the Western economy while preserving a major part of their own cultural and religious institutions, including the early betrothal and marriage of women and strong disapproval of marriage to persons of other religions. The Coloured appear to lack this cultural compactness, and, in addition, have tended to be far less stable and more changeable in their status relations with the rest of the community.

The 'minority ratio' principle may, alternatively, be thought to be operative, not between one minority group and another but for the outmarriages of one group through time. This is the sense in which the principle is examined by Wirth and Goldhamer. Thus interpreted, the principle would be observed if the number of outmarriages of, say, the Coloured group varied inversely with the proportion which that group bore from time to time to the rest of the population. The section of the

¹ *American Minority Peoples in the Depression*, 1937, p. 1.

population enumerated as Coloured increased slightly (from 7.9 to 8.2 per cent.) between 1921 and 1946 (roughly the period covered by the data) and the number of Coloured outmarriages increased more or less steadily from 422 in 1925 to 798 in 1946; thus the minority ratio principle has not applied here either, or else any influence it has had has been obscured or diverted by other forces.

In the case of Asiatics their proportion has increased very slightly (2.4 to 2.5 per cent.) since 1921, and the number of Asiatic outmarriages has also risen more or less steadily. Here again the minority ratio principle has not been observed or its influence has been obscured or diverted.

COLOURED-EUROPEAN INTERMARRIAGE

The first category of intermarriage we deal with is Coloured-European. Table VIII below shows the number of marriages of Coloured males and females to Europeans in 1925, and every fifth subsequent year, and Table IX summarizes the figures for the ten-year period 1937-46.

TABLE VIII

Number of Marriages of Coloured Males and Females to Europeans and Proportion of Coloured Male-European Female Marriages to Total

Year	Number of Col. male-Eur. female marriages	Number of Col. female-Eur. male marriages	Total	Proportion of Col. male-Eur. female marriages to total
1925	28	85	113	24.8
1930	15	60	75	20.0
1935	15	66	81	18.5
1940	16	83	99	17.6
1945	13	68	81	16.0
1946	14	52	66	21.2

TABLE IX

Total Number of Marriages of Coloured Males and Females to Europeans, 1937-46, and Proportions of Coloured Male-European Female and Coloured Female-European Male Marriages to Total

Number of Col. male-Eur. female marriages	Number of Col. female-Eur. male marriages	Total	Proportion of Col. male-Eur. female marriages to total	Proportion of Col. female-Eur. male marriages to total
136	698	834	16.3	83.7

OUTMARRIAGE RATIOS

Over the period 1937-46 there were 834 marriages between Coloureds and Europeans. This number constituted 1.13 per cent. (834/73,843) of all marriages involving Coloureds, and 0.35 per cent. (834/244,096) of all marriages involving Europeans. Thus 113 of every 10,000 marriages involving Coloureds were to Europeans, but only 35 of every 10,000 marriages involving Europeans were to Coloureds.

In making this type of comparison, however, one should bear in mind the fact that a large number of more or less permanent unions between Coloureds exist even though these are not registered as legal marriages. These unions may be regarded as largely 'functional' in character, i.e. serving mainly as means to an end or ends, in contrast with the legal unions in which, to a larger extent, the state of marriage is regarded as an end in itself.¹ It is probably true to say that among the Coloured,

¹ See D. Young, op. cit., chap. 7.

sexual unions tend to be regarded more from the functional point of view than among Europeans. A functional view of marriage favours the recognition of *de facto* marriages without legal ceremony, and if only legal marriages are considered in discussions of this type all extra-legal matings are eliminated from consideration even though they may have the status of legal matings within their own group. This reflection raises doubts concerning the validity of legal marriage as a statistical unit in connexion with a consideration of the Coloured people and the limitation imposed by this doubt should be borne in mind during a perusal of the data.

Wirth and Goldhamer indicate that outmarriage ratios of the type used above '... suggest methods of measuring interacial "social distance" that might prove far more satisfactory than many of the currently used pencil-and-paper attitude tests'.¹ It may be that the proportion of outmarriages to all marriages which members of one race contract does give some rough idea of the extent to which members of that race considered as a group are prepared to modify (or perhaps do modify) the rigidity of the caste structure of the society. But it is difficult to accept the view (if this is implied) that such ratios help one to determine an equilibrium position or distance between the two groups, showing the relationship which they bear to each other in the organization of the whole society.

The annual number of Coloured-European marriages does not show any tendency to increase during the period studied, despite the increase in the size of both population groups and the increased number of marriages involving members of either group. The proportion of Coloured-European marriages to all marriages involving Coloureds, and to all marriages involving Europeans has thus decreased. It is obvious, therefore, that this form of intermarriage is becoming of decreased numerical importance to both groups. The changes in this respect are shown in Table X below.

TABLE X

Proportion of Coloured-European Marriages to all Marriages involving Coloureds and all involving Europeans

Year	Marriages in which Coloureds involved	Marriages in which Europeans involved	Coloured-European marriages	Proportion of Col.-Eur. marriages to all involving Coloureds	Proportion of Col.-Eur. marriages to all involving Europeans
1925	4,385	14,135	113	2.6	0.8
1930	5,211	16,702	75	1.4	0.4
1935	5,786	20,690	81	1.4	0.4
1940	7,533	28,492	99	1.3	0.3
1945	7,586	24,163	81	1.1	0.3
1946	8,353	28,385	66	0.8	0.2

Table IX showed that about four-fifths of Coloured-European marriages over the period 1937-46 were between Coloured women and European men, and Table VIII shows that this proportion has been fairly stable since 1925. This sex-difference is probably accounted for to some extent by such general factors as the deficiency of

¹ Op. cit., p. 281.

males in the Coloured 'marriageable' age-groups, the excess of male over female white immigrants from Europe, and possibly the greater opportunity Coloured women in service occupations have of coming into close contact with Europeans. In addition the situation may conceivably be conditioned by the traditional aura of 'sanctity' surrounding white womanhood, which might inhibit both Coloured men and European women from such unions. It may be, however, that the same phenomenon 'encourages' some Coloured men, who are near-white in appearance, to pass as Europeans with the purpose of securing European wives, and therefore to try to be enumerated as Europeans at Census dates and/or to register a marriage with a European woman as that of one European to another. This would lead to under-registration of Coloured male-European female marriages and would be consistent with the 'unfavourable' masculinity ratio in the Coloured marriageable age-groups.

The apparent sex-difference in Coloured marriages to Europeans is particularly interesting in view of the contrast it offers to the sex-difference in mulatto-European marriages in the United States. There it is the mulatto men, whose status is in some respects comparable with that of Coloured men, who marry Europeans more frequently.¹

What are the reasons for the sex-difference in South Africa being reversed? One part of the explanation may be the possibility already mentioned that under-registration of Coloured male-European female marriages exaggerates the sex-difference. Another contributory factor may be the superior economic opportunities available to mulatto men in the United States. It seems reasonable to suppose that, other things being equal, the greater the overlapping of income-status between hybrid males and European males the greater the possibility that European women will lower caste barriers sufficiently to consider marriage with hybrid men.

Unfortunately we can do little more than conjecture, as the detailed information necessary for explanatory hypotheses to be formulated and verified does not exist. It might be illuminating to know, for instance, which occupational and income-groups are represented most frequently among both parties in Coloured-European marriages, what is the most frequent combination of occupations and incomes, what are the average ages and the marital conditions of contracting parties at the time of the marriage.

COLOURED-ASIATIC INTERMARRIAGE

Table XI below shows the number of marriages of Coloured men and women to Asiatics in 1925 and every fifth subsequent year and the proportion of these which were Coloured male-Asiatic female marriages. Table XII summarizes the figures for 1937-46.

Over the period 1937-46 there were 1,004 marriages between Coloureds and Asiatics. This number constituted 1.36 per cent. (1,004/73,843) of all marriages involving Coloureds, and 5.19 per cent. (1,004/19,332) of all marriages involving Asiatics. Thus, 136 of every 10,000 marriages involving Coloureds were to Asiatics, and 519 of every 10,000 marriages involving Asiatics were to Coloureds.

The number of Coloured-Asiatic marriages has shown an obvious increase since

¹ See p. 198 below.

1925. Table XIII shows, however, that these marriages have hardly become a significantly greater proportion of all Coloured marriages, though they have become a slightly greater proportion of all Asiatic marriages.

TABLE XI

Number of Marriages of Coloured Males and Females to Asiatics and Proportion of Coloured Male-Asiatic Female Marriages to Total

Year	Col. male- As. female marriages	Col. female- As. male marriages	Total	Proportion of Col. male- As. female marriages to total
1925	1	46	47	2.1
1930	1	62	63	1.6
1935	4	54	58	6.9
1940	17	75	92	18.5
1945	15	118	133	11.3
1946	13	89	102	12.7

TABLE XII

Total Number of Marriages of Coloured Males and Females to Asiatics, 1937-46, and Proportions of Coloured Male-Asiatic Female and Coloured Female-Asiatic Male Marriages to Total

Col. male- As. female marriages	Col. female- As. male marriages	Total	Proportion of Col. male- As. female marriages to total	Proportion of Col. female- As. male marriages to total
129	875	1,004	12.9	87.2

TABLE XIII

Proportion of Coloured-Asiatic Marriages to all Marriages involving Coloureds and all involving Asiatics

Year	Marriages involving Coloureds	Marriages involving Asiatics	Col.-As. marriages	Proportion of Col.-As. mar- riages to all involving Coloureds	Proportion of Col.-As. mar- riages to all involving Asiatics
1925	4,385	1,082	47	1.1	4.3
1930	5,211	1,379	63	1.2	4.6
1935	5,786	1,446	58	1.0	4.0
1940	7,533	1,980	92	1.2	4.6
1945	7,586	2,167	133	1.8	6.1
1946	8,353	1,996	102	1.2	5.1

Table XII shows that nearly nine-tenths of Coloured-Asiatic marriages between 1937 and 1946 were between Coloured women and Asiatic men. Table XI shows that this phenomenon has been present, though variable, since 1925. Again, this sex-difference may be related to the deficit of males in the Coloured marriageable age-group. Another contributory factor is that Asiatic women are usually betrothed or married at a very early age and have very little opportunity to contract outmarriages. Also, there is a general shortage of women among Asiatics, much accentuated outside Natal. The Union and Cape age-and-sex distribution of Asiatics for 1921 and 1936 is shown in Table XIV and Table XV shows the masculinity ratios for total populations groups aged 15-45, and males aged 20-34 compared with females aged 15-29.

TABLE XIV

*Age and Sex Distribution of Asiatics, Union and Cape, 1921 and 1936**

Age	Union				Cape			
	1921		1936		1921		1936	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-	12,716	12,954	17,832	18,469	349	367	646	643
5-	12,879	12,375	17,501	17,339	374	318	618	564
10-	9,832	8,398	14,790	13,858	294	228	618	453
15-	7,189	6,088	12,757	11,256	265	156	543	394
20-	6,320	5,529	10,810	9,476	411	212	613	413
25-	6,450	5,269	8,414	7,542	458	169	492	336
30-	7,659	5,099	6,084	5,522	541	148	328	240
35-	9,371	3,966	5,759	4,529	853	127	410	251
40-	8,084	3,073	4,514	3,296	786	97	349	196
45-	6,036	1,911	5,129	2,881	610	58	497	139
50-	4,556	1,585	4,906	2,318	328	42	584	89
55-	2,311	682	3,745	1,433	179	13	463	56
60-	3,691	1,339	6,739	2,461	204	34	513	54
Unstated	242	127	171	160	72	3	3	3
Total	97,336	68,395	119,151	100,540	5,724	1,972	6,677	3,831

* 1936 Population Census, U.G. 28/38, vol. 2, p. 150.

TABLE XV

Asiatic Masculinity Ratios, Union and Cape, 1921 and 1936

Unit	Union		Cape	
	1921	1936	1921	1936
Total population . . .	142.3	118.7	290.2	174.3
Population aged 15-45 . .	155.3	116.1	405.8	149.5
Males 20-34 to females 15-29	120.9	89.5	262.5	125.4

COLOURED-NATIVE INTERMARRIAGE

Table XVI below shows the number of marriages of Coloured males and females to Natives in 1925 and every fifth subsequent year; Table XVII summarizes the figures for the period 1937-46, and Table XVIII shows these marriages as a proportion of all Coloured marriages and of all registered Native marriages.

In the ten-year period 1937-46 there were 5,647 marriages between Coloureds and Natives. This number constituted 7.6 per cent. of all marriages involving Coloureds. Unfortunately the total number of marriages involving Natives cannot be calculated, as registration of marriages (as also of births and deaths) is not compulsory for Natives in rural areas, and excludes 'customary' unions according to Native law. (These marriages are not on the same level as the extra-legal unions between Coloureds already mentioned, as they do have the force of law—Native tribal law—behind them.) An outmarriage ratio (2.81 per cent.) can be calculated only by using the

TABLE XVI

Number of Marriages of Coloured Males and Females to Natives and Proportion of Coloured Male-Native Female Marriages to Total

Year	Col. male-Nat. female marriages	Col. female-Nat. male marriages	Total	Proportion of Col. male-Nat. female marriages to total
1925	75	187	262	28.6
1930	86	198	284	30.3
1935	147	216	363	40.5
1940	230	308	538	42.8
1945	265	353	618	42.9
1946	281	349	630	44.6

TABLE XVII

Total Number of Marriages of Coloured Males and Females to Natives, 1937-46, and Proportion of Coloured Male-Native Female and Coloured Female-Native Male Marriages to Total

Col. male-Nat. female marriages	Col. female-Nat. male marriages	Total	Proportion of Col. male-Nat. female marriages to total	Proportion of Col. female-Nat. male marriages to total
2,505	3,142	5,647	44.4	55.6

TABLE XVIII

Proportion of Coloured-Native Marriages to all Marriages involving Coloureds and all Registered Marriages involving Natives

Year	Marriages involving Coloureds	Registered marriages involving Natives	Col.-Nat. marriages	Proportion of Col.-Nat. marriages to all involving Coloureds	Proportion of Col.-Nat. marriages to all involving Natives
1925	4,385	12,008	262	6.0	2.2
1930	5,211	13,078	284	5.5	2.2
1935	5,786	15,537	363	6.3	2.3
1940	7,533	19,508	538	7.1	2.8
1945	7,586	22,129	618	8.1	2.8
1946	8,353	21,934	630	7.5	2.9

200,725 registered Native marriages. But the fact of incomplete registration hardly affects the issues implied by the use of outmarriage ratios, since the Native population (considering the total or even that section outside the Reserves) is so much larger than the Coloured population that Coloured-Native marriages must inevitably form a much smaller proportion of either registered or registered-plus-other marriages to the Native people than to the Coloured. For the purpose of statistical comparisons, however, we must confine ourselves to the statement that 760 of every 10,000 legal marriages involving Coloureds during the period 1937-46 were to Natives and 281 of every 10,000 registered marriages involving Natives were to Coloureds.

The number of Coloured-Native marriages shows a striking increase since 1925. Table XVIII shows that these marriages have become proportionally more important to both groups. The same sex-difference noted in Coloured-European and Coloured-Asiatic marriages is present: more Coloured women than men marry Natives. But in this case the sex-difference has decreased considerably during the

the period studied. Among the reasons for the preponderance of women among Coloureds marrying Natives the deficit of males in the Coloured marriageable age-group must again be mentioned, and also the preponderance of males over females among Natives outside the Reserves (see Table XIX below).

TABLE XIX
*Distribution of Natives between 'Native Areas'
and Other Areas, 1936**

Area	Male	Female	Persons
Native Areas .	1,236,300	1,726,096	2,962,396
Other Areas .	2,076,351	1,557,942	2,634,293
All Areas .	3,312,651	3,284,038	6,596,689

*1936 Population Census, U.G. 21/38; vol. I, p. 18. Native Areas comprise Crown Reserve or Locations, Mission Reserves or Stations, Tribally owned Farms, Native-owned Farms, Crown Lands.

It is interesting to speculate on the causes for the reduction of the female preponderance in Coloured-Native marriages since 1925. One clue is given in Tables XXIII and XXIV below, which show that Coloured male-Native female marriages have been far more variable in number than Coloured female-Native male marriages. Evidence exists to suggest an increased parity between Coloured and Native males in occupation and incomes during the last twenty-five years, but it is difficult to explain why this should have been associated with a much greater increase in the number of Coloured male-Native female marriages than in Coloured female-Native male marriages.

As indicated above in the discussion of Coloured-European marriages, the sex-difference in Coloured-Native marriages can be compared with the sex-difference in mulatto-full-blood Negro marriages in the United States. There, more mulatto women than men marry full-blood Negroes. The explanation usually given for this runs on the following lines: mulattoes generally have a higher social status than darker Negroes, therefore both mulatto men and women require some special incentive before they will consider a marriage with a full-blood Negro. This special incentive exists more often for the woman than the man because the woman is more interested than the man in the earning capacity of her spouse and may therefore be prepared to marry a successful full-blood Negro. Some similar factors may operate between Coloureds and Natives in South Africa, and similar forces may explain the greater tendency existing among Coloured women than men to marry Natives. The well-known thrifty habits of Urban Native bachelors saving against the day when they will return home may also affect the situation. A further factor which may reinforce these influences is the widely held opinion that Native males tend in general to be more stable in temperament than Coloured males. It is often said that this is the opinion of European employers and affects their choice between Native and Coloured workmen—perhaps it affects the Coloured woman's choice of a marriage partner too. It would be most interesting to investigate the relative stability of Coloured female-Native male and Coloured-Coloured marriages.

But these are all speculations based on little concrete evidence and hardly provide a final or complete explanation of the sex-difference. Nor is it possible to ascertain whether the strength of the forces tentatively suggested to be operative has increased or decreased during the period studied. A weakening of the forces would be consistent with the reduction in the sex-difference among Coloured-Native marriages since 1925, but there appears to be no way of testing whether or not this weakening has in fact occurred.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLOURED OUTMARRIAGES

The first of these general characteristics to be noted is the disproportionate tendency for Coloured women rather than Coloured men to contract outmarriages. This tendency is brought out in Table XX, which gives the biennial sex distribution of Coloured outmarriages and in Table XXI where the figures for the period 1937-46 are summarized.

TABLE XX

Sex Distribution of Coloured Outmarriages and Proportion contracted by Males

Year	Number of Coloured out-marriages	Number contracted by males	Number contracted by females	Proportion contracted by males
1925	422	104	318	24.6
1927	384	90	294	23.4
1929	445	114	331	25.6
1931	415	130	285	31.3
1933	384	114	270	29.7
1935	502	166	336	33.1
1937	552	195	357	35.3
1939	614	227	387	37.0
1941	783	303	480	38.8
1943	752	315	527	41.9
1945	832	293	539	35.2
1946	798	308	490	38.6

TABLE XXI

Sex Distribution of Coloured Outmarriages, 1937-46, and Proportion contracted by Males

Total number	Number contracted by males	Number contracted by females	Proportion contracted by males
7,485	2,770	4,715	37.0

Table XX shows that, consistently since 1925, between 60 and 80 per cent. of Coloured outmarriages have been contracted by women. During the period 1937-46, of every 10,000 Coloured outmarriages, 630 were by women and 370 by men. The proportion of men contracting outmarriages does, however, show a clear tendency to increase in the 22-year period for which the data are available.

It appears that there are two points here which require explanation: firstly, the reason or reasons for the preponderance of women in Coloured outmarriages; secondly, the reason or reasons for the decrease in this preponderance. We have already seen that probable contributory reasons for the former are the preponderance of Native and Asiatic men over women in the areas where they are most likely to come into contact with Coloureds. Another factor, also mentioned previously but not yet discussed in any detail, is the excess of Coloured females over males in the marriageable age-group.

Table XXII below shows the age and sex composition of the Coloured population for the years 1921 and 1936.

TABLE XXII

Age and Sex Distribution of Coloureds, Union and Cape, 1921 and 1936

Age	Union				Cape			
	1921		1936		1921		1936	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-	39,008	39,042	61,318	61,860	34,701	34,839	54,862	55,400
5-	39,650	39,041	55,232	55,108	35,374	34,880	49,349	49,196
10-	35,691	34,226	46,373	44,776	31,831	30,502	41,105	39,808
15-	27,106	29,231	36,783	37,686	24,216	26,135	32,384	33,403
20-	22,489	24,809	33,645	37,490	19,896	22,061	29,761	33,063
25-	20,618	21,270	30,155	30,848	17,885	18,671	26,590	27,209
30-	17,494	17,190	24,520	23,440	15,147	15,146	21,413	20,560
35-	16,393	15,289	21,718	20,317	14,290	13,538	19,088	17,919
40-	13,873	12,435	16,986	16,024	12,215	11,032	14,931	14,101
45-	11,007	9,937	15,679	14,081	9,782	8,874	13,858	12,502
50-	10,019	8,860	13,079	11,549	8,994	7,982	11,620	10,252
55-	6,068	5,371	9,085	7,803	5,428	4,889	8,112	6,916
60+	15,459	13,251	22,418	20,837	13,586	11,972	19,621	18,594
Unstated	349	372	440	411	179	207	317	314
Total	275,224	270,324	387,431	382,230	243,524	240,728	343,011	339,237

Both years show an excess of men over women in the total population. The masculinity ratio for the total population was 101.8 in 1921 and 101.4 in 1936. But in a consideration of marriage habits it is more useful to compare numbers within the age-group in which marriages usually take place, for example, between 15 and 45 years. For these ages the masculinity ratio is 'unfavourable', being 98.2 for 1921 and 98.8 for 1936. Since women tend usually to marry men older than themselves in Western or Westernized communities it may be more illuminating to compare the number of women in, say, the 15-29 group with the number of men in the age-group immediately above this, i.e. 20-34. This comparison shows a masculinity ratio of 80.5 for 1921, 83.3 for 1936. The differences in these masculinity ratios are associated with the fact that in both years a male excess in the 10-15 group changes into a male deficit for each age-group until the 30-5 group is reached.

It is not possible to discuss here the reasons for the male deficit, nor to try to connect the deficit with the popular view that more men than women 'pass' into the dominant group. It is sufficient to point out that these deficits are unlikely to be due entirely to accidental omission of males normally regarded as Coloured; the shortage of eligible Coloured males, therefore, is probably a very real factor contributing to the preponderance of women over men among Coloureds contracting outmarriages.

It has already been pointed out that this preponderance is showing a tendency to decrease. An inspection of Tables XXIII and XXIV, showing the numerical and percentage distribution of Coloured outmarriages since 1925, shows how this decrease has come about.

It is apparent that the female majority in outmarriages has been affected by a decrease in the proportion which marriages of Coloured females to European males

TABLE XXIII
Numerical Distribution of Coloured Outmarriages

Year	Coloured males to			Total	Coloured females to			Total	Total of All Coloured outmarriages
	Eur.	Nat.	As.		Eur.	Nat.	As.		
1925	28	75	1	104	85	187	46	318	422
1927	18	69	3	90	66	180	48	294	384
1929	16	91	7	114	64	211	56	331	445
1931	14	111	5	130	59	179	47	285	415
1933	10	102	2	114	57	166	47	270	384
1935	15	147	4	166	66	216	54	336	502
1937	14	171	10	195	69	236	52	357	552
1939	11	205	11	227	50	247	90	387	614
1941	11	272	20	303	65	321	94	480	783
1943	13	295	7	315	78	358	91	527	842
1945	13	265	15	293	68	353	118	539	832
1946	14	281	13	308	52	349	89	490	798

TABLE XXIV
Numerical Distribution of Coloured Outmarriages, 1937-46

Coloured males to			Total	Coloured females to			Total
Eur.	Nat.	As.		Eur.	Nat.	As.	
136	2,505	129	2,770	698	3,142	875	4,715

bear to all Coloured outmarriages. There has been no compensatory increase in relative importance of Coloured female-Asiatic male marriages or Coloured female-Native male marriages, and the females have therefore lost ground. On the other hand, Coloured males have lost some ground (about 4 per cent.) in marriages to Europeans, have maintained approximate stability in marriages with Asiatics as proportion of all outmarriages, BUT have gained considerably in the greater proportion which Coloured male-Native female marriages bear to all Coloured outmarriages. (The increasing frequency with which Coloured males are marrying Native females has already been noted in the discussion of Coloured-Native intermarriage.)

It is thus the increased tendency for Coloured males to marry Native females which has reduced the preponderance of females among Coloureds contracting outmarriages.

The second general characteristic of Coloured outmarriages is the stability which these bear to all marriages involving Coloureds. Table III shows that between 1925 and 1946 the number of Coloured outmarriages increased by 89.1 per cent. and the total number of marriages involving Coloureds by 90.5 per cent. Thus, these two have roughly kept pace with each other and the proportion which outmarriages bear to all marriages in which Coloureds are involved has remained stable since 1925. This is obvious from the third column of the Table and is confirmed by the fact that the Standard Deviation of this proportion is only 1.54 per cent. about an average of 9.1 per cent.

SOME ASPECTS OF INTER-RACIAL

But, as we have just seen, this remarkable stability in the ratio of outmarriage to all marriages in the Coloured population does not mean that the pattern of the outmarriages making up the proportion has not changed. Table XXV shows that, for the period under review, intermarriage with the white group has become relatively less important to South African hybrids and intermarriage with Natives relatively more important. This change has been brought about largely by the increasing tendency for Coloured males to marry Native females. In 1925 marriages of Coloureds

TABLE XXV
Percentage Distribution of Coloured Outmarriages

Year	Total number of Coloured outmarriages	Coloured males to			Coloured females to			Proportion contracted by males
		Eur.	Nat.	As.	Eur.	Nat.	As.	
1925	422	6.6	17.8	0	20.1	44.3	10.9	24.6
1927	384	4.7	18.0	1.0	17.2	46.9	12.5	23.4
1929	445	3.6	20.4	1.6	14.4	47.4	12.6	25.6
1931	415	3.4	26.7	1.2	14.2	43.1	11.3	31.3
1933	384	2.6	26.6	0.5	14.8	43.2	12.2	29.7
1935	502	3.0	29.3	0.8	13.1	43.0	10.8	33.1
1937	552	2.5	31.0	1.8	12.5	42.8	9.4	35.3
1939	614	1.8	33.4	1.8	8.1	40.2	14.7	37.0
1941	781	1.4	34.9	2.6	8.3	41.1	12.0	38.8
1943	752	1.7	39.2	0.9	10.4	47.6	12.1	41.9
1945	832	1.6	31.9	1.8	8.2	42.4	14.2	35.2
1946	798	1.8	35.2	1.6	6.5	43.7	11.2	38.6

TABLE XXVI
Percentage Distribution of Coloured Outmarriages, 1937-46

Total number of Coloured outmarriages	Coloured males to			Coloured females to			Proportion contracted by males
	Eur.	Nat.	As.	Eur.	Nat.	As.	
7,485	1.8	33.5	1.7	9.3	42.0	11.7	37.0

to Europeans constituted 27 per cent. of all Coloured outmarriages and 2.6 per cent. of all marriages involving Coloureds, while marriages of Coloureds to Natives constituted 62 per cent. of all Coloured outmarriages and 6.0 per cent. of all marriages involving Coloureds. In 1946 marriages of Coloureds to Europeans constituted 9 per cent. of all Coloured outmarriages and 0.8 per cent. of all marriages involving Coloureds, while marriages of Coloureds to Natives constituted 79 per cent. of all Coloured outmarriages and 7.5 per cent. of all marriages involving Coloureds. Between these dates the proportion which Coloured female-Native male marriages bore to all Coloured outmarriages remained remarkably stable at about 45 per cent., but the proportion which Coloured male-Native female marriages bore to all Coloured outmarriages rose from 18 per cent. in 1925 to 35 per cent. in 1946. Thus

the increased proportion which Coloured-Native marriages now bear to all Coloured marriages can be attributed almost entirely to the increase in marriages between Coloured males and Native females.

The very limited extent of our knowledge of the dynamics of race relations, as well as the uncertainties of the present political situation, make it a hazardous undertaking to offer any predictions about the future social structure of the Union of South Africa. The trends described in this paper nevertheless suggest a number of possibilities, the realization of which would necessitate a drastic modification of many traditional social arrangements.

Résumé

QUELQUES ASPECTS DES MARIAGES ENTRE RACES EN AFRIQUE DU SUD

CET article fait l'analyse des statistiques concernant les mariages entre races dans l'Union Sud-Africaine, pendant les vingt années 1925-1946. Les mariages qui sont étudiés sont ceux entre Européens et indigènes, Européens et gens de couleur, gens de couleur et indigènes, gens de couleur et Asiatiques. La population de couleur est définie comme une catégorie résiduaire, ne comprenant pas les Européens, les indigènes et les Asiatiques, mais dans laquelle les Hottentots et les Boschimans sont inclus.

L'auteur étudie la proportion de mariages entre races au nombre total de mariages contractés en dedans de chacun des groupements sociaux, ainsi que la répartition de tels mariages par sexe et âge; il indique, également, certains changements qui se sont produits dans les proportions entre ces divers types de mariages et les compare avec les statistiques des mariages entre races aux États-Unis. Il suggère que les tendances indiquées par les statistiques examinées dans cette communication pourraient avoir des influences sur les dispositions sociales traditionnelles dans l'Union Sud-Africaine.

AN ETHIOPIAN ARGOT OF PEOPLE POSSESSED BY A SPIRIT

WOLF LESLAU

THE official religion in Ethiopia is Christianity, a part of the Ethiopian population are Moslems, others, called Falasha, are of Jewish faith, still others are pagans. Whatever their religious beliefs, Ethiopians have in common a belief in the spirit called zar. The name is of non-Semitic origin, probably derived from the name of the supreme divinity of the pagan Cushites, the God-Heaven called in Agau *ġar*, and in Sidamo languages: Kaffa *yarō*, Buoro *darō*.¹ This ancient pagan god is regarded in christianized Abyssinia as a malevolent genius. Although the official church, Christian or Moslem, condemns the belief in zar and the practices connected with it, the current opinion is that everyone 'has a zar'.

The origin of zar is said to go back to Eve or, according to another tradition, to the Emperor Kaleb. Eve had thirty children. When God came to pay her a visit and to count her children, Eve feared the accusation of lust or, according to others, the evil eye, and therefore hid fifteen of her most beautiful children. God knew of it and, as punishment, decreed that the hidden children should remain so all their life, while the visible children remained visible. Zar originates from the hidden children.

The other tradition says that Emperor Kaleb² divided his kingdom among his sons so that one of them should reign in the day-time, and the others at night. Zar originates from the sons who reigned at night.

As in human society there are among the zars kings, chiefs, servants, and so on. There are Christian, Moslem, and pagan zars.³ Zar plays an important part in native life. All diseases are attributed to and emanate from it. Zars are male and female; the female ones are considered more dangerous. A woman is most often possessed by a male zar, a man by a female zar. Generally, women are more often possessed than men, and it seems that the mother is the recipient of the zars of the whole family.

There are particular periods of the year when zars appear and strike. In fact, they make their appearance with the festival of the Cross,⁴ which marks the end of the rainy season. It is a time 'when the flowers start to bloom and the maize to ripen'.⁵ During the rainy season zars remain hidden.⁶ The times when zars are likely to strike are midday, sunset, and between midnight and three o'clock in the morning. They appear near rivers and waters, in desert and bushy places in general.

According to a common belief everyone 'has a zar'. The person possessed by the

¹ Cerulli, 'Zār', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1934, p. 1217.

² Reigned 514-42; he fought with Dhu-Nuwās of South Arabia. There are several legends connected with Kaleb, one of which says that the earth split when he was waging war against Dhu Nuwās. According to another legend there is a place near Aksum said to be the entrance into the earth miraculously made for Kaleb, and known as tomb of Kaleb.

³ Most of the information on the zars is taken

from Leiris, 'Le culte des zars à Gondar (Éthiopie septentrionale)', *Aethiopica*, vol. iv, 1934, pp. 96-103, 125-36. 'La croyance aux génies zar en Éthiopie du nord', *J. de Psychologie*, 1938, pp. 108-25.

⁴ End of September.

⁵ Leslau, *Documents Tigrigna (Éthiopien septentrional)*, Paris, 1941, p. 205.

⁶ The dry season lasts from October to June-July; the rainy season lasts from June-July to October.

zar is called *yäzar färäs* 'the zar's horse'. When a person is hit by a zar he goes to the house of a healer called *balä zar* 'the master of zars'. The *balä zar*, himself possessed by zars, dominates them and is able to discover their nature. Other persons forming a fraternity come to the gathering. Some assistants beat the drums, others sing songs and clap their hands, while the *balä zar* 'investigates' the nature of the zar. He attempts to persuade the possessed person to make the *gurri*, that is a movement of the head, which is vertical or perpendicular depending on the nature of the zar. This movement is executed in a frenetic manner and repeated for quite some time. The *gurri* indicates that the zar has consented to 'descend' and that he will eventually reveal his name and nature. The possessed person who executes the *gurri* is in a state of trance, and through his medium the zar emits the *fukkara*, a warrior-like boasting, by which he reveals his identity. Once the zar's nature is discovered, the *balä zar* asks him to show clemency to the possessed person, and to come back to her at fixed periods only. This is the most that can be asked of the zar since it seems that he never leaves a person completely. In exchange, he is promised an animal sacrifice, as well as trinkets and attire to be worn, of course, by the possessed person.¹

It might be interesting to hear a rationalistic explanation of the zar institution given to me by an Ethiopian who was educated in France. His explanation runs as follows.²

In former days the women and young girls of Ethiopia never went out alone; they were always followed by servants. They could not, therefore, go to places and enjoy themselves at their wish nor could they have love affairs unless with the consent of their parents. They, therefore, invented the existence of the zar, a so-called illness which does not exist and never has existed. Since the parents or husbands did not wish to aggravate the illness of their daughters or wives they gave them liberty to go to gatherings where they met playmates, permitted them to put on new dresses, and in general fulfilled all their whims. One of the convincing proofs of my informant that the zar institution is a pure invention is the fact that, according to what people say, the zar appears only in the dry season. 'If you ask why no one is possessed by the zar in the rainy season, they will answer that the zar does not leave his dwelling during the rainy season. This alone is enough to show that their illness is a lie.' This theory is especially interesting in that it reveals the fact that women possessed by a zar have indeed a freedom from surveillance at certain accepted times.

I stayed one evening in April 1947 with the Falashas of the village of Ambworo, south-east of Gondar. We sat around the fire, the Falashas telling folk-tales, when about ten o'clock we heard shouts from a near-by hut. My young Falashas recognized at once that it was a zar gathering.³ We went to the gathering. It was in the hut of a woman *balä zar*.⁴ She had a bed at the back of the hut, screened by a curtain, to which she retired from time to time to rest. She was dressed in clothes of bright colours and adorned with trinkets. The hut was lit by a small fire in the fire-place,

¹ The belief in zar also passed into some of the Arabic countries, such as Egypt, Yemen; for a bibliography on the subject see Cerulli, op. cit., p. 1217.

² Leslau, op. cit., pp. 202-10.

³ Curiously enough, there is no resident priest in the agglomeration where the zar gathering took

place. Apparently the people possessed by the zar have chosen a place where they could meet without being disturbed by the priests.

⁴ The *balä zar* can also be a man. I was once shown a *balä zar* passing on the road; he had a red head-dress and seemed absent-minded.

and was crowded with women and some young men. Our arrival passed unnoticed, or, at least, did not impress the audience at all, even when I turned on my flashlight. As we came in, a woman was placed opposite the *balä zar* and started the *gurri*. She was encouraged by the beating of drums, by hand-clapping of the audience, and by hoarse screams emitted rhythmically. I heard the *fukkara* but could not get its meaning. After a while the woman retired exhausted, the *balä zar* returned to her retreat, and the audience was silent. Coffee was distributed to all the people—I was given the first cup—and the women sang melancholy songs. Another possessed woman came forward, tried the *gurri* encouraged by the drums and the hoarse screams which became wilder and wilder, and at a certain point the *balä zar* appeared from her retreat and the zar revealed his identity. This ceremony lasted for nearly the whole night.

In the quiet intervals I heard the women using words the exact meaning of which I did not get, although most of them were Amharic.¹ Intrigued by this language I went back the next day to the hut of the *balä zar* and met there a woman who had taken an active part in the ceremony. When I asked her about the language she had spoken at the gathering, she replied that she did not know of any particular language, that it was the zar who had spoken, and now that the zar had left her she did not remember this language. I then took with me to my tent a nephew of hers who had been beating the drum at the ceremony and asked him how to express specific words, such as 'eat, drink, sit down', and so on, in zar language. For some of them he knew the answer, though he did not know many of them. Moreover, he complained of a headache, and no wonder since he had played nearly the whole night. I gave him an aspirin and after half an hour he came back relieved of his headache. He asked for some remedy for his aunt who would be willing to give me more information about this language which she knew better than he did. In fact, after I had given her a tablet of aspirin she was willing to answer all my questions and thus I obtained the words of the argot which are analysed in the present article.

When working out the material I noticed that the existence of a language peculiar to zar has been pointed out by Leiris² who indicates that this language is used only by the *wäreza*, that is, the servants of the zar and not by the great zars.

The characteristic feature of this argot is that it uses the general language, that is, Amharic, and the number of loanwords is very limited (14, 15, 16). As for the Amharic words, the argot makes use of paraphrastic expressions (1), of metaphors (2), of comparisons (4); 'expressive' words or phrases are used, abstract ideas are expressed by concrete words, general actions by particular ones (5); expressions of part for the whole and vice versa occur (6). Deformation of the root, either by replacing a consonant or by lengthening of the whole root, is occasionally used (11, 12, 13). There are probably some taboo expressions, such as 'salt' (1), the tray on which the cups of coffee are presented (5.3), the plant *čat* (6), 'horse' (10), and many more. Unfortunately, we do not yet know enough of the whole institution to ascertain what expressions are considered taboo. It goes without saying that there are probably more words than those I collected.

The morphology of the argot is that of Amharic throughout.

¹ The Ethiopians and the Falashas of the region of Gondar speak Amharic.

² 1934, p. 129; 1938, pp. 120-1.

Analysis of Vocabulary. As stated above, nearly all of the words are Amharic.

1. Some words of the argot are expressed in a paraphrastic way. Such words are: 'Salt' *yädängya nägus*, lit. 'king of stones'. This expression seems to refer to the importance of salt in Ethiopia.¹ Salt is in fact a part of the ceremony of possession.² 'Milk' *ayn abra*, lit. 'illuminate (imper.) the eyes'. This expression is used for milk because of its white colour; or possibly there is a belief that milk makes the eyes bright. 'Water' *yäbäräha täğ*, lit. 'mead of the desert'; this expresses the idea that water replaces mead, the popular Ethiopian drink, in the desert where no mead is to be found. Water is also called *gädäl ayfäri* (or *ayfäre*),³ lit. 'which does not fear the precipice'; it means that not even the precipice is an obstacle to water which runs everywhere. 'Door' *čälläma ayfäre*, lit. 'which does not fear the darkness'. In fact, the door is often closed, and proves by that position that it does not fear the darkness. We should expect, however, this expression to be used for the house rather than for the door. 'Ox' *qändä sala*, lit. 'the antelope with horns'.⁴ 'Dog' *ğarat bämurɿ*, lit. '(which has) the tail in the anus'.⁵ 'Slave' *šəto läğudday*, lit. 'sell him for business'; it expresses well the use of the slave. For another expression for 'slave' see also 15.

2.1. For some nouns the argot uses metaphorical expressions. These are adjectives qualifying the noun; in many examples the ending *-it* is used. This ending has in some nouns an affective value; in other nouns it could be interpreted as having a depreciative and pejorative value.⁶ Amharic has many of these adjectives or active participles with their proper meaning, but nearly all of them without the ending *-it* (see also 3). These nouns are: 'Hen' *čarit*, lit. 'which scratches the earth'.⁷ 'Goat' *läflafit*, lit. 'the chatterer'.⁸ 'Sheep' *monanit*, lit. 'good, excellent';⁹ seems also to have the meaning of 'elegant'. 'Bread, cereals, millet' *läslasit*, lit. 'soft, flexible'.¹⁰ It is difficult to know whether 'bread', considered as soft, gave its name to the millet, or the flexible millet plant gave its reference to 'bread', the product of millet. 'Barley' *koskwāsīt*, lit. 'which stings'. 'Butter' *čäräqräqit*, from *čäräq alä* 'drip'. The expression *čäräqräqit* is used perhaps of melted butter that sizzles, hence 'butter' in general. 'Pepper' *läblabit*, lit. 'which burns, stings'.¹¹ This qualification does not need explanation for anyone who has tasted the peppered food in Ethiopia. 'Wheat' *gämasit*. This root presents difficulties. In fact, the existing root *gms* 'cut into half' would not explain the word *gämasit*. The Amharic root *agmas* 'wing favourable for threshing' might have some connexion with wheat, but this connexion is not easily understandable. 'Beer' *däfrasit*, lit. 'turbid',¹² a true description of Ethiopian beer. 'Honey' *tafačit*, lit. 'of agreeable taste';¹³ or *walalit*, from Amharic *wäläla* 'pure

¹ A bar of salt, *amolye*, was used as money-value in some parts of Ethiopia.

² Leiris, 1934, p. 134.

³ *ayfäri* would be an adjective; the *-e* of *ayfäre* seems to be a caritative expression.

⁴ The Amharic expression would be *yäqänd sala*. The expression of the argot might be a pun with the Amharic *yäsala qänd* which means 'the horn of the animal *sala*' (Guidi, *Vocabolario amarico-italiano*, Roma, 1901, p. 142).

⁵ *murɿ* is considered an unmannerly expression; it seems to be an expression of Gondar.

⁶ For the diminutive and depreciative value of this

ending in Amharic see Cohen, *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris, 1939, p. 105; for the 'affective' ending *-it* in the Amharic proper nouns see *ibid.*, pp. 90-1.

⁷ Amh. *čari* 'who scratches'. The form *čarit* for 'hen' also exists in Woyto (Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 369).

⁸ Amh. *läflaffa* or *läflafi* 'chatterer'.

⁹ Amh. *monana* 'good, excellent'.

¹⁰ Amh. *läslassa* 'soft'.

¹¹ Amh. *läblabi* 'which burns'.

¹² Amh. *däfrassa* 'turbid'.

¹³ Amh. *tafač* 'of agreeable taste'.

honey', with the ending *-it* taken from *tafaçit* or from other qualifying adjectives. 'Sleep' *asazzänit*, lit. 'which makes sad', sleep probably being considered an interruption of life. 'Cold' (noun) *qäzqazit*, lit. 'which is cold'.¹

2.2. Qualifying adjectives without the ending *-it*: 'Hyena' *aq^wararaç*, lit. 'that interrupts'; the barking of the hyena supposedly interrupts the zar ceremony.² 'Eye' *quliçliç*, from Amharic *q^wäläçç alä* 'have bright eyes'.³ This root seems to exist also in Tigrigna with the meaning of 'shine' (oral information given by Abba Jerome). 'Eye' is also expressed by *mänätär* 'glasses' (see 4). 'Husband, wife' *asaddari*; could be interpreted either as 'he who makes pass the night' or 'he who sustains'. 'Mother, father' *zärgafi*, from *zäräggäfä* 'to have many children', then any mother, and, by extension, 'father'.⁴ Less understandable is the word *milqitto* for 'woman'. It seems that Amharic has *mäläqqätä* 'unveil' (not found in the dictionaries); the word would then mean 'the unveiled one', that is the Amhara woman in contrast to the Arab woman who is veiled.

3. Some nouns use the same root as Amharic, but with the 'affective' ending *-it*, *-ite*, *-it^{ye}*;⁵ other nouns use the Amharic root with a figurative meaning. These nouns are: 'Sauce' *wätawit*; Amharic has *wät*. 'Nose' *afunçite*; Amharic has *afənča*. 'Chick-peas' *afunçite*, lit. 'small nose' from the preceding *afənča* 'nose'. 'Earth' *aforit^{ye}*; Amharic has *afär*. Note also the change of *ä* into *o*. 'Man' *addamit*; Amharic has *addam*.⁶ 'Blood' *abäbit*; probably related to Amharic *abäba* 'flower', perhaps implicitly 'red flower', hence 'blood'. For the ending *-it* in the argot see also 2 and *çorrit* 'ray' 6.

4. Some notions are expressed by a descriptive comparison, such as: 'Eye' *mänätär*, lit. 'eye-glasses'; for another expression for 'eye' see 2.2. Amharic has *ayn*. 'Hand' *alänga*, lit. 'whip'. The hand is so called because it holds the whip. 'Neck' *mäga*, lit. 'reed', by extension 'long neck'.⁷ Amharic has *angät*.

5.1. The argot uses many verbs of expressive connotation as standard vocabulary. Abstract ideas are expressed by concrete words; general actions are expressed by particular ones. Verbs of the argot are: 'Drink' (imper.) *çälläç*, lit. 'drink to the last drop'. It is a word with a depreciative meaning since it is considered unmannerly to finish the drink to the last drop. 'Eat' (imper.) *godgud*, lit. 'stuff into the mouth'. 'Go, run' *gäsäggäsä*, lit. 'to hasten, run'; 'bring' *agäsgas*, causative of the preceding, lit. 'make it fast'. 'Sit down' (imper.) *lämədar kəbädaw*, lit. 'be heavy for the earth'; or *tädobbär*, lit. 'crouch before jumping' (a meaning not found in the dictionaries); or *häç bäl*, lit. 'make a noise when sitting down', like the sack of money or wheat when someone sets it on the floor. 'Get up' *täšbäggär*. This root does not exist in Amharic. Is it a corrupted form of *tänäs bəgər* 'get up with the foot'? 'He was sick' *tädäyyəno^wal*, lit. 'he was in the purgatory',⁸ a drastic conception of sickness. 'Die'

¹ Amh. *qäzqazza* 'cold'.

² 'Celui qui est pris par le *buda*, génie mangeur d'hommes, se reconnaît à son amaigrissement, à son teint de cendre et au fait qu'en état de transe il pousse des cris de hyène' (Leiris, 1934, p. 99). This passage is brought here in order to show that the hyena plays a part in the zar ceremony.

³ The language of the Woyto has *kuläçço* and *huläçço* (Cohen, 1939, p. 366); in view of our argot it seems rather to be *quläçço*.

⁴ Also in Woyto (Cohen, 1939, p. 366).

⁵ See p. 207, n. 6.

⁶ According to Leiris, 1934, p. 129, *addam* designates in the language of the zar 'a man or woman not possessed by the spirit'.

⁷ Baeteman, *Dictionnaire Amarigna-Français*, Dire-Daoua, 1929, p. 89, gives for *maqa* the meaning of 'who has a long neck'.

⁸ The Amharic dictionaries have only the noun *däyn* 'purgatory'.

sämmätä, lit. 'sink, be engulfed'. 'Sleep' *tälättäsä*, lit. 'to adhere to the soil'.¹ 'Laugh' *tänkäkätä*. This is the form in my manuscript; it is perhaps a mistake for *tänkätäkkätä*, lit. 'burst out laughing' as used in the Amharic expression *bäsaq tünkätäkkätä*. 'Gird' (imper.) *täsändäd*, perhaps a corrupted form from the root *täsänadda* 'get ready'. It would be far-fetched to derive the word from *täsänäddädä* 'be well done'. 'Spin' *anšäršär*, lit. 'make the spindle roll'. 'Rain' (verb) *allah anṭäbättäbä*, lit. 'God let fall drops' (see also 'cry' below).² A popular expression in Tigrigna for 'rain' is *šanti gamä* 'the urine of the clouds'. 'Cry' *anṭäbättäbä*, lit. 'he let fall (tears)'; see also 'rain' above. 'Wash yourself' *täläqäläq*, lit. 'rinse yourself'. 'Boil' *tändägäddägä*, lit. 'to quake, fidget' (not found in the dictionaries).

5.2. Some nouns involving transferred meanings are: 'Night' *čällämita*, lit. 'darkness';³ Amharic has *let*. 'Fire' *mugad*, from Amharic *maggädä* 'put wood on the fire'; Amharic has *asat*. 'Brother, sister' *mäntiyä*, from Amharic *mänta* 'twin';³ Amharic has *wändam* for 'brother', *at* for 'sister'.

5.3. Pejorative expressions are: 'Woman, girl' *bazra*, lit. 'she-horse'. 'Boy' is called *korma*, lit. 'the courageous one', a secondary development from the original meaning of 'sister'. 'Small tray on which the cups of coffee are presented to the guests' *gända*, lit. 'trough, manger';⁴ Amharic uses *yäbun maqräbiya*.

6. Some words are expressed by part for the whole and inversely. Such words are: 'Head' *čanqallat*, lit. 'the peak of the head'. 'Hair' *čära*, lit. 'animal's tail' and 'hair of the tail'. 'Meat' *gome*, lit. 'a particular piece of meat' (incomplete information given by Abba Jerome). It may perhaps be connected with Amharic *goma* 'without horns', that is 'cow', hence 'meat'.⁵ 'Roasted grain' *gäfära*, lit. 'barley given to a guest's animal'. The narcotic plant called *čat* in Amharic is expressed by *qänbät*;⁶ according to Abba Jerome it means 'stem' in Amharic. The Amharas do not usually chew the *čat*, but they do it during the ceremonies of the zar who supposedly likes it. 'Sun, day' *čorrit*, from Amharic *čorra* 'ray of the sun' (for the ending, see 2.1). The word under the form *bäčorrit* also designates by generalization any day, be it to-day, to-morrow, or yesterday, the exact meaning becoming clear by the context. 'House' *gaballa*, lit. 'a small house attached to a big one' (in Amharic of Gondar). The word also occurs in the language of the Woyto.⁷ 'Country, region' *qäbäl'e*, lit. 'section of the town'.

7. The argot often uses nouns of instrument where the Amharic would use a specific term.⁸ Thus: 'Dress' *mägaräğa*, lit. 'anything which serves to cover or to veil'; Amharic would use *läbs*. 'Belt' *mädägdidya*, from *adägäddägä* 'put the toga around

¹ The word is not found in the Amharic dictionaries.

² Cf. also *anṭäbättäbät* 'rain' in Woyto (Cohen, 1939, p. 365).

³ This expression is also found in *An Ethiopian merchants' argot* (Leslau, 1949).

⁴ This is the meaning of *gända* given in the dictionaries. Guidi, *Supplemento al vocabolario amarico-italiano*, Roma, 1940, col. 222, gives for it the meaning of 'vaso nel quello si prepara l'idromele (non purificato)'. Leiris, 1934, p. 101, n. 1, has 'le plateau de bois nommé *gända* qui sert pour le service rituel du café'; he does not say whether this is the regular Amharic meaning or whether it is the argot

that adopted this meaning for *gända*. According to the dictionaries and from my own investigation it appears that *gända* does not have in Amharic the meaning of 'tray for coffee'.

⁵ For the ending -e in Amharic with proper nouns, and occasionally with common nouns, see Cohen, 1939, pp. 92-3.

⁶ For *čat* see Hess, J. J., 'Kät', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1925, vol. ii, p. 808.

⁷ Cohen, 1939, p. 368.

⁸ The Amharic noun of instrument is formed by the prefix *mä-* and the suffix *-ya*, the *y* of which causes prepalatalization of the sibilants, of the dentals, and of *l*, *n*.

the shoulder in a special way'; Amharic would use *dæg* or *mäqännät*. 'Foot' *mäškär-kärya*, from *täškäräkkärä* 'toddle along' (it is an expression of Gondar); Amharic uses *əgar*. 'Ear' *mägändäbya*. The only possible connexion is the root *gndb* 'to cut', but this meaning does not explain the word. Amharic uses *ğoro* for 'ear'.

8. The numbers 'one, two', and so on are expressed by 'eleven, twelve', and so on. Thus 'one day' *asrand qän*, lit. 'eleven days', 'two days' *asra hulät qän*, lit. 'twelve days'. Curiously, 'one year' is expressed by *asramäst amät*, lit. 'fifteen years'. I did not record the numbers beginning from 'eleven'.

9. The zars have names of various origins. The name of the chief of the zars, *awläya*, is of Arabic origin (14). The Queen of the zars is called Rahelo; it probably comes from the Hebrew name Raḥel most likely through Arabic. The zars have servants: some of them are called *šanqit* coming from the Ethiopic *šanqalla* 'a Negro population, Negro';¹ the pages are called *würeza*, which can be identified only with Geez (old Ethiopic) *wäreza* 'young man'; this expression would then be one of the very few archaic words (see *kärs*, 14).²

10. An interesting expression in the argot is the one for 'horse' called *mälak*, lit. 'angel'. The 'angel' is probably substituted for the zar. It is known that the person possessed by the zar is called *yäzar färäs* 'the horse of the zar'; there is also a saying that 'the zar resembles his horse'.³ The 'horse' would then be identified with the zar, hence 'angel' in our argot, perhaps because of taboo. In this connexion it is interesting to note the Ethiopian belief that a horse appearing in a dream stands for angel. See also 15 under 'slave'.

11. A procedure in many argots is the replacing of any consonant of the root;⁴ in our argot the first consonant is replaced by *m*.⁵ These words are: 'Bad' *müfu*; Amharic has *küfu*. 'Money' *mänžäb*; Amharic has *gänžäb*. The argot shows also the substitution of *ž* for *z*. 'Porridge' *mänfo*; Amharic has *gänfo*. 'Sorcerer' *mänq^way*; Amharic has *tanq^way*. The form *tanq^way mänq^way* is also used in Amharic.

12. Deformation of the root found in other argots is almost non-existent in our argot. The substitution by *m* (11) is a normal linguistic procedure and is not particularly characteristic of the argot. The only word in my collection which seems to present a deformation is *märara* 'Christian' coming from Amharic *amara*; it would then represent a reduplication of the last radical. This reduplication might have been brought about because of the existing Amharic *märara* 'bitter', but one does not see the reason why an Amhara should have chosen for himself the expression for 'bitter'. For another expression for 'Christian' see 14.

13. Amharic expressions lengthened by an enigmatic element are: 'Carrion' *ṭambarir*; one recognizes the Amharic *ṭamb* 'carrion', but what about the ending *-rir*? 'Heart' *läbbagar*. The Amharic expression for 'heart' is *läbb*; the added *əgar* of the argot means 'foot' in Amharic. The combination of 'heart' and 'foot' is not quite understandable.

14. As in any other argot there are loanwords, though relatively few. These come from Arabic and Galla with which the Amharas are in contact. Moreover, the belief

¹ The abridged form *šanqo* is also used in Amharic (Guidi, 1940, p. 71).

² For Galla zar see Baeteman, op. cit., col. 853.

³ Leiris, 1934, p. 99.

⁴ Dauzat, A., *Les Argots*, Paris, 1929, p. 53;

Leslau, 1949.

⁵ This change is reminiscent of the common change into *m* of many languages; cf. Amharic *tərqi mərqi* 'trifle': German *Techtelmechtel*, *Kuddelmuddel*.

in zar is also met with among the Arabs and Gallas. According to one tradition, the belief in zar would be of Arabic origin. Arabic loanwords are: 'Master, God, heaven' *alla(h)*, the Arabic word for 'God'. The king of the zars is called *awlaya*, from Arabic 'awliyā', plural of *walīy* 'saint'.¹ 'Christian' *kafir*, Arabic *kāfir*, lit. 'infidel, non-Moslem'.² It is interesting to note that the Amharas took for themselves the Arabic expression which involves the idea of 'infidel'. For another expression for 'Christian' see 12. 'Poor' *māskin*; Arabic *maskīn*, which also passed into Tigre *māskin* and Harari *miskīn*. 'Coffee' *q^waha*, is the Arabic *qahwa* with metathesis. This loanword is encountered in all the South Ethiopic languages with the exception of Amharic and Gafat where *bun* is used. This Arabic word and the one for 'perfume' (see below) are of particular interest since they show that the use of coffee and of perfume has been taken over, together with the terms, from the Arabs. 'Perfume' *adrus*, seems to be related to Arabic 'aṭar 'perfume' with an additional element (see 13). Perfume and coffee are essential parts of the zar ceremony (see above). 'Tooth' *sādār*, is perhaps the Arabic *ḍīrs* 'tooth' the *ḍ* of which has been adapted to the phonetic system of Ethiopic and has become *d*. The word *sādār* would then represent a metathesis of the root *drs*.³ 'Belly' *kārs*, is probably taken from Arabic *kars* 'belly' unless we consider the word to be an archaism. In fact, *kārs* is found in Geez (old Ethiopic), and preserved in some South Ethiopic languages, such as Aragobba *kārs*, Harari *kārsi*, Aymallal *kārs*, and occasionally in Amharic, the normal word in Amharic being *hod*.⁴

15. Words of Galla origin are: 'Important man, elder' *angafa*; Galla *angafa* 'elder, first born'. 'Child' *muča*. 'Mule' *farda*; in Galla *farda* means 'horse'. 'Slave' *farda*. What would be the relation between 'mule' (or 'horse') and 'slave' for which the argot uses the same expression? Would 'slave' be 'possession, property' as is the horse? It seems, however, more probable that this expression is used for a slave possessed by the zar.⁵ Since the person possessed by the spirit is called 'the horse of the zar' (see p. 210 above), a possessed slave, and perhaps for that matter any person possessed by the spirit, is called *farda* 'horse'. The Amharic word *fārās* 'horse' seems to be considered taboo, and as we saw in 10 the expression for 'angel' is used instead. For 'slave' see also 1. 'Thank you' *waqiye yammäsgän*, lit. 'may God be praised'; *yammäsgän* is Amharic, *waqiye* means 'God' in Galla.

16. An expression of Harari origin is *aman* 'well' in *aman ədär* 'pass well the night' (*ədär* is Amharic). The Harari, inhabitants of the city of Harar, are Moslems. It is possible that the word passed first to the Arabs and the argot then took it over from Arabic.

17. It is very interesting to note that some of the words of our argot are found in the language of the Woyto. The Woyto are hippopotamus hunters; they live on the shores of Lake Tana and are in contact with the Amharas.⁶ Their present language is

¹ 'Mot employé pour désigner certains grands zar ou grands illuminés; par extension, les zars en général' (Leiris, 1934, p. 101, n. 1).

² Also used in *An Ethiopian merchants' Argot* (Leslau, 1949).

³ The language of the Woyto also has *sādār*; for an attempt at an etymological explanation see Cohen, 1939, p. 362.

⁴ The Woyto *qərs* (Cohen, 1939, p. 363) is probably to be corrected into *kārs*.

⁵ 'Les esclaves ne peuvent être possédés que par de petits zars, non héréditaires' (Leiris, 1934, p. 135).

⁶ Cohen, 1939, pp. 358-71; Cheesman, R. E., *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, London, 1936, index under 'Waito'.

Amharic, but they have some expressions of their own. It is difficult to know whether it is the remains of an earlier independent language or whether it is some kind of argot. It is natural that an argot or a professional language should borrow expressions from another language with which it comes into contact. There is not, however, sufficient evidence to show whether the language of the Woyto borrowed the under-mentioned expressions from our argot, or the other way round. The answer to this question would be easier if we knew more about the origin of the belief in zar. This belief might have originated with the autochthonous population of Ethiopia—the Woyto probably belong to this population—and the Amharas might have taken it over from them together with some expressions.

Woyto expressions that coincide with our argot are: 'tooth' *sädär* (14); 'eye' *quličlič* (2.2.); 'belly' *kärs* (14); 'mother' *zärgafi* (2.2); 'house' *gaballa* (6); 'hen' *čarit* (2.1).

Résumé

UN ARGOT ÉTHIOPIEN DE PERSONNES POSSÉDÉES PAR UN ESPRIT

CET article analyse le langage employé par les personnes dites possédées d'un esprit nommé Zar. Il y a plusieurs légendes au sujet de l'origine de Zar, mais d'après une explication offerte par un Éthiopien éduqué en France le Zar est une maladie inventée par des femmes pour forcer leurs maris ou leurs parents à leur permettre la liberté de satisfaire leur désir de jouissance. Une personne possédée par un Zar va à la maison d'un guérisseur appelé 'le maître des Zars', qui a le pouvoir de contrôler les esprits. L'auteur de cet article décrit une réunion où plusieurs femmes possédées par des Zar participent à la cérémonie par laquelle le Zar est forcé de révéler son identité. Au cours de la cérémonie les femmes parlaient un langage qui, quoique les mots soient amhariques, semblait incompréhensible à l'auteur. Plus tard, en interrogeant une des femmes en question, il apprit les mots de l'argot. Quoique les mots soient amhariques, des expressions paraphrastiques et des métaphores sont employées, et des idées abstraites exprimées par des noms concrets, l'entier par le mot pour une partie, etc. . . . Dans certains mots la racine est déformée en la rallongeant ou en changeant ses consonnes. Quelques mots sont empruntés, surtout de l'arabe. Des exemples de toutes ces particularités sont cités et expliqués.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF WEST AFRICAN TONE LANGUAGES: IGBO AND EFIK

M. M. GREEN

DURING the last twenty years a new chapter has been opened in the study of the Sudanic languages of West Africa by research into their tonal structure. The presence of semantic or lexical tone had long been recognized in these languages: it was known, that is to say, that words otherwise homonymous were distinguished by differences of tone pattern, and that these differences were significant for meaning. It was, however, the work of Dr. Ida Ward¹ in Nigeria which first made clear the essential part played by tone in the grammar of some of these languages, and subsequent research has confirmed this fact.

This raises important questions as to the classification of these languages. Hitherto the criteria of classification have hardly included semantic, much less grammatical, tone, and the time would seem to have come for a reassessment of the position.

Hitherto, IGBO has been placed in the Kwa Group of the Western Sudanic languages, whereas EFIK has been called Semi-Bantu. YORUBA has also been called Kwa. If, however, one looks at the tonal characteristics of these languages certain points of considerable interest emerge. In the first place, we find that both Igbo and Efik have two independent tone levels, low and high, and a mid-tone which only occurs in relation to a preceding high tone. In Yoruba, on the contrary, there is an independent mid-tone. In the second place, we find that in the first two languages tone pattern and tone change are closely bound up with the grammatical aspect of the languages. In Yoruba, on the other hand, tone pattern and tone change seem to obey laws of their own which bear little relation to the grammar of the language.

Here, therefore, are certain characteristics which must clearly be borne in mind in attempting to classify tone languages. But a further step must be taken. When, for instance, it is known that two or more languages have grammatical tone they must be considered and compared from this point of view. This is all the more important in view of the tendency, in much language classification, to stress questions of vocabulary rather than of grammar. We shall therefore turn to Igbo and Efik and try very tentatively to see some of the essential ways in which tone enters into the grammar of these languages. For our present purpose it is necessary to be both brief and simple and to concentrate on certain essential features of tonal behaviour. Such points as the difference of tone pattern, within a language, of the various forms of verbs with different root tones, will not concern us beyond a bare mention of the fact that these differences, which are essentially lexical, occur. Among the complexities of the tonal patterns of a language we must try to concentrate on significant or characteristic types of tone behaviour. It is the dynamic rather than the static aspect of tone with which we are concerned.

If we take the two chief categories of Igbo and of Efik grammar, the noun and the verb, and examine the working of tone within each of them, we find certain interest-

¹ I. C. Ward, *Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Efik*, Heffer, 1933; *Introduction to the Ibo Language*, Heffer, 1936.

ing points of similarity in important respects. There are undoubted differences. Igbo, for instance, indicates a question which is initiated by a pronoun by putting the pronoun on a low tone. The tonal position of the pronoun is the only factor which differentiates question and statement. This is not the case in Efik where the existence of a personal prefix, which can be used without a pronoun, gives rise to a different structural situation. In Igbo, too, a relative construction is indicated by the tone level of the verb form in relation to the preceding noun. This, again, is not the case in Efik where a relative suffix is added to the verb. In Igbo, again, the noun object changes its tone after certain verb forms whereas such a change in Efik seems to be confined to certain subordinate clauses.¹

But if we look at two important points, one in the nominal and the other in the verbal forms of each language, we find that in the putting of nouns into qualifying or genitival relationship on the one hand and in the method of tense formation of the verb on the other, the part played by tone in the two languages repays careful study.

It will be convenient to examine them separately, taking first Igbo and then Efik.

IGBO

Nominal Forms

(i) In Igbo there are four main tone classes of disyllabic nouns. Each class has its inherent tone pattern, the pattern of the word in isolation.

Class I. *enyi* (ˉˉ) elephant.

Class II. *ahə* (ˉˊ) body.

Class III. *ələ* (ˉˊ) house.

Class IV. *ala* (ˊˊ) ground.

The tone patterns of these nouns change in certain grammatical circumstances. When two nouns are in juxtaposition and in qualifying relationship they have a tone pattern which, for most of the tone classes, is different from that of the two nouns in isolation.

Example: *ahə enyi* (ˉˉˉˉ) body of an elephant. (For inherent tones see above.)

But there is a further possibility. If *enyi* is personified, as often happens in folk-stories, we get a different combined tone pattern:

ahə Enyi (ˉˉˉˉ) body of Mr. Elephant.

Verbal Forms

In Igbo there are two tone types of verb root; high, as in *vu* (ˉ), carry, and low, as in *kə* (ˊ), divide. Each type of tone conjugation has its own distinctive tone patterns, but the principles of tone behaviour are the same in all with possible excep-

¹ The varying tonal behaviour of the noun object in Igbo according to the verb form it follows appears to be a constituent factor in defining the verb form, rather than a tonal 'case' inflexion of the noun. It may possibly be correlated with the existence in Igbo of an intonational factor which, on occasions, brings a low tone verb form on to a mid-tone. The

behaviour of the noun object then helps to keep that verb form distinct from a form which normally has a mid-tone. An intonational as distinct from a tonal factor is one which has emotional but not grammatical significance. The same grammatical form may have two intonational tone alternatives.

tions in the low tone verb. For reasons of clarity we shall confine our examples to forms of the high tone verb.

Tone Behaviour in Igbo Verbal Forms (high tone verb)

When we turn to the verbal forms of Igbo we find that the tenses¹ of the verb are differentiated from each other in a number of ways, the chief of which may be set out as follows:

(a) Presence or absence of vowel suffix to verb root:

Example: Tense I. *o vu abɔ* (-_--) she is (was) carrying a basket.

Tense III. *o vuo abɔ* (----) if she is (was) carrying a basket.

(b) Presence or absence of vowel prefix to verb stem:

Example: Tense I. *anye vu abɔ* (-_--) we are (were) carrying baskets.

Tense II b. *anye evuo abɔ* (-_----) we carry (carried) baskets.

(c) Tone pattern of pronoun and verb:

Example: Tense I. *o vu abɛ* (-_--).

Tense II. *o vuo abɔ* (----).

Tense III. *o vuo abɔ* (----).

(d) Tone pattern of noun object of verb. After some tenses Class I and Class II nouns keep their inherent tone pattern, after others they change.

Example: Tense I, followed by Class I noun, *abɔ* (--): *o vu abɔ* (-_--).

Tense II, followed by Class I noun: *o vuo abɔ* (----).

The tenses have very little to do with time. Time and other modifications of meaning are denoted by meaning suffixes. The tone pattern of the tense (pronoun plus verb) is maintained throughout the modifications, with possible rare exceptions. This is one of the outstanding characteristics of Igbo verb structure.

Example: Tense I. *o vu abɔ* (-_--) she is (was) carrying a basket.

Tense I, with -ra (time) meaning suffix: *o vuru abɔ* (-_--) she carried a basket.

Tense I, with -ra (time) and -ta (motion towards) meaning suffixes: *o vutere abɔ* (-_--_) she carried a basket (towards speaker).

Tense I, with -ra (time) and -wa (inception) meaning suffixes: *o vuvwere abɔ* (-_--_) she started to carry a basket.

Further examples can be seen by studying the Table of Igbo Verb Forms on p. 218 where the vowel harmonization of the suffixes is also explained.

EFIK

Nominal Forms

(i) In Efik there are five main tone classes of disyllabic nouns. Each class, as in Igbo, has its inherent tone pattern.

Class I. *eto* (--) tree.

Class II. *uyo* (-_) voice.

¹ 'Tense' is used of those forms of the verb which may be described as elemental. They are the basic forms upon which meaning suffixes, or other such

lexical additions, are built up to modify their meanings. Example: Tense I. *o vu abɔ* (-_--). Tense I, with -ra (time) meaning suffix; *o vuru abɔ* (-_--).

Class III. *ikwɔt* (__) toad.

Class IV. *ɔbɔŋ* (-) chief.

Class V. *ubɔm* (-) canoe.

As in Igbo the patterns of these nouns change in certain grammatical relationships. When two nouns are in juxtaposition and in qualifying relationship, their combined tone pattern is, for most tone classes, different from that of the two nouns in isolation.

Example: *nyo ikwɔt* (-_-) voice of a toad.

But, as in Igbo, there is a further possibility. If *ikwɔt* (__) is personified as in folk-stories, we get a different combined tone pattern from the above.

Example: *nyo Ikwɔt* (-_ _) voice of Mr. Toad.

As in Igbo there is what might be called a personal tone pattern. This is such a specific point that the resemblance of tone behaviour in the two languages is remarkable.

Verbal Forms

In Efik there are three tone types of verb root, high, as in *dep* (-), buy; low, as in *du* (-), stay; and low-high, as in *kaa* (-), go. Each type of tone conjugation has its own distinctive tone patterns, but the principles of tone behaviour are the same in all with possible exceptions in the low tone verb. For the sake of clarity we shall confine ourselves to examples of the high tone verb.

Tone Behaviour in Efik Verbal Forms (High Tone Verb)

(i) When we examine the forms of the high tone verb in Efik along the lines of our examination of Igbo, we find that the tenses of the verb are differentiated by the tone pattern of the personal prefix¹ and the verb stem. The further differentia discovered in Igbo are here absent. The verb used in examples is the high tone verb *dep* (-) buy.

Example: Tense I a. *Okon edep bia* (_\---_-) Okon (as distinct from anyone else) bought yam.

Tense I b. *Okon edep hia* (__-_-) Okon bought (is buying) yam (as distinct from any other thing).

Since the prefix is a personal prefix and varies, in Tenses I a, b, and c, in tone position according to the person denoted, there is no fixed relationship of prefix to verb root, but the verb root retains the same tone throughout a tense.

Example: Tense I a. *edep nso?* (_--_-) what are you buying?

edep nso? (---_-) what is he buying?

Tense I b. *edep bia* (_-_-) you are buying yam (as distinct from other things).

edep bia (-_-_-) he is buying yam (as distinct from other things).

¹ In every tense of the verb, the verb root has a vowel prefix which may be called a personal prefix. In Tenses I a, b, and c, person is shown by the tone position of the personal prefix:

Example: *edep nso?* (_--_-) what are you buying?
edep nso? (---_-) what is he buying?

In Tenses II and III the tone position of the personal prefix is invariable. A noun or a pronoun can be used with all tenses in front of the personal prefix, which is always retained:

Example: *Enye edep nso?* (_---_-) What is he buying?

As in Igbo, tense has little to do with time in Efik. Time significance and other modification of meaning are shown by the addition, not of suffixes as in Igbo, but of prefixes. Particularly in Tenses I *a* and *b*, the differentiation of tone pattern in the tenses is maintained when these prefixes are added, though there is correspondence rather than identity of the tone line.

Example: Tense I *a*. *Okon edep bia* (_\'' _) Okon (as distinct from anyone else) is buying (bought) yam.

Tense I *a*, with *ke-* prefix (time): *Okone kedep bia* (_\'' _) Okon (as distinct from anyone else) bought yam.

Tense I *a*, with *kpe-* prefix (conditional); *Okon ekpedep bia* (_\'' _) Okon (as distinct from anyone else) would buy (would have bought) yam.

(*b*) Tense I *b*. *Okon edep bia* (_\'' _) Okon is buying (bought) yam (as distinct from anything else).

Tense I *b*, with *ke-* prefix (time): *Okon ekedep bia* (_\'' _) Okon bought yam (as distinct from anything else).

Tense II *b*, with *kpe-* prefix (conditional): *Okon ekpedep bia* (_\'' _) Okon would buy (would have bought) yam (as distinct from anything else).

Thus we get in Tense I *a*, *edep* (--), *ekedep* (--), and *ekpedep* (--), and in Tense I *b*, *edep* (--), *ekedep* (--), and *ekpedep* (--). The tonal contrast between the two Tenses is clearly maintained, though by correspondence rather than by identity of tone pattern between the various modifications of the tenses. This is reminiscent of the fact that in Igbo the tone pattern of the tense is maintained throughout its modification by meaning suffixes.

SUMMARY OF THE COMPARISON OF TONAL BEHAVIOUR IN IGBO AND EFIK

If we summarize briefly the foregoing comparison of the tonal behaviour of Igbo and Efik we get the following points:

Nominal Forms

(i) In both Igbo and Efik, nouns in juxtaposition and in qualifying or genitival relationship change their inherent tone pattern in two distinct ways, one when the qualifying word is non-personal, and the other when it is personal.

Verbal Forms

(i) In both Igbo and Efik the tenses of the verb are differentiated by their tone pattern, and in Efik this is the only differentiating factor.

In both there is identity or correspondence of tone pattern between the tone pattern of certain tenses and that of the tenses as modified by meaning suffixes (Igbo) or meaning prefixes (Efik). This characteristic is more marked in Igbo than it appears to be, with our present knowledge, in Efik.

These points of similarity between the parts played by grammatical tone in the two languages should, I suggest, be taken into account in any attempt to classify these languages. Whereas in existing schemes, which ignore tone, Igbo and Yoruba have been put together in the Kwa group of the Sudanic languages and Efik has been considered Semi-Bantu we find, tonally speaking, that Igbo and Efik have much in common with each other and little in common with Yoruba. They have two

TABLE I
Tenses of the Igbo Verb (High Tone Verb, vu (-) carry)

	I Used in simple sentences. Used in questions and answers involving interrogative words: <i>o vu abo</i> (- _ --)	II (with inseparable pronouns) Used in simple sentences. Not used for questions except with -la suffix and then not normally with interrogative words: <i>o vuo abo</i> (- ----)	II (with separable pronouns) Not used in simple sentences nor in questions: <i>ya evuo abo</i> (- ----)	III Not normally used in simple sentences nor in questions: <i>o vuo abo</i> (- ----)
<i>Meaning Suffixes</i> -ra (time) ¹ -la } (time) ² -le } -ta } (motion towards) ² -te } -wa } (inception) -we }	<i>o vuru abo</i> (- --) <i>abo o vuru</i> (-- --) <i>o vute abo</i> (- --) <i>o vuvete abo</i> (- --)	 <i>o vuo abo</i> (- ----) <i>o vute abo</i> (- ----) <i>o vuvete abo</i> (- ----)	 <i>ya evute abo</i> (- ----) <i>ya evuvete abo</i> (- ----)	 <i>o vuo abo</i> (- ----) <i>o vute abo</i> (- ----) <i>o vuvete abo</i> (- ----)

¹ The vowel of this suffix reduplicates the vowel of the verb root.
² The vowel of this suffix harmonizes with the vowel of the verb root.

independent tone levels and they have grammatical tone. Moreover, within the working of their grammatical tone systems certain striking similarities appear. Yoruba, on the other hand, has three independent tone levels and a tonal system which seems to be more or less independent of grammar.

We need far more research in this matter, and new knowledge may greatly modify our attitude to what has tentatively been put forward here. Our real difficulty is that the number of languages of which the tonal system has been investigated is lamentably small. But the facts put forward here indicate that in any attempt at classification from a tonal point of view we need to know (a) the number of essential tone levels in any one language; (b) whether semantic or lexical tone exists; (c) whether what might be called dynamic or relational tone exists, and if so whether or not this tone system is grammatical. We then need to compare languages using grammatical tone systems like Igbo and Efik with one another and languages using non-grammatical tone systems like Yoruba with one another. Criteria different from or additional to those put forward here may and will suggest themselves. It may be, also, that points considered here, such as the number of essential tone levels, may turn out to be unimportant as distinguishing factors. But an attempt has here been made to invite consideration of the tonal factor in classifying West African languages.

TABLE II

Tenses of the Efik Verb (High Tone Verb dep (-) buy)

	I a ²	I b	I c	II	III
	Used in simple sentences and in questions and answers involving interrogative words			Not normally used in questions and answers involving interrogative words	Not used in simple sentences or questions
	Used when subject is emphasized	Used when object is emphasized			
	<i>edep</i> (--)	<i>edep</i> (-_)	<i>edep</i> (-\)	<i>edep</i> (-)	<i>edep</i> (_-)
<i>Meaning Prefixes</i>					
ke- (time)	<i>ekedep</i> (---)	<i>ekedep</i> (--)			
kpe- (conditional)	<i>ekpedep</i> (---)	<i>ekpedep</i> (---_)			
ma- (time)				<i>emedep</i> (---)	<i>ekpedep</i> (_-)

WITCHCRAFT IN BOLOBO, BELGIAN CONGO

JOHN D. VICCARIS

BOLOBO is situated on the River Congo, some 200 miles farther from the coast than Léopoldville, the capital. At the time of Stanley's exploratory voyage the inhabitants consisted of two main tribes: the Bobangi, who had migrated from the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Mobangi River with the main stream, and the BaMoie, who are an off-shoot of the BaMongo tribe of Coquilhatville Province. The original owners of hunting rights in this place were not residents, and there is every ground for believing that these hunters, the BaTende tribe, mixed freely with the new-comers before their tribal limits were fixed some five miles inland from the river. At present the Bobangi are very few in number and are fast disappearing. The Moie, Tende, and Sengele elements predominate, with smaller numbers of a dozen other tribes, who have come here since that time for purposes of trade or employment, completing the 7,000 residents.

The Bobangi language has become the *lingua franca* of Bolobo and is understood by practically everyone. The terms used in this study are, except where otherwise noted, in this language. Despite the heterogeneous nature of the present population it is true to say that the belief in witchcraft shows no significant variations among the different tribes represented at Bolobo.

THE PREVALENCE OF THE BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT

There is no doubt that belief in *boloki*¹ is extremely widespread to-day amongst all sections of the populace. Young and old people alike have clung tenaciously to the belief in the face of the white missionaries' opposition extending over some sixty years. Bolobo is predominantly Protestant. The rules of the Protestant Church explicitly state: 'there is nothing which is able to accomplish *boloki* . . . no man is able to kill his fellow by *likundu*² . . . no man can induce illness in his fellow by *boloki*'. In Bolobo there are over a thousand Protestant Church members and several hundred inquirers. Together with their families and the large number of Christians suspended from the Church fellowship for purposes of discipline, a conservative estimate of those in Protestant homes is one-half of the population of 7,000.

When George Grenfell came to Bolobo in 1888 he reported daily killings for witchcraft. The poison ordeal, administered at a spot now included in the Mission compound, consisted of an infusion of *nkasa* tree bark. The innocence of the accused was established if he vomited the liquid three times. In the opinion of a number of the village elders the desire to administer the poison cup is still very strong, and only the vigilance of the state officials and the annual census of all inhabitants restrain the practice to-day.

¹ *Boloki*: witchcraft, the activity of an infected personality. *Boloki* is the gerund of the verb *loko*, which has the transitive meaning, 'to bewitch', and the intransitive meaning, 'to fester, or gather'.

² *Likundu*: stomach, intestine, or, in the plural, giblets. It is freely acknowledged that all men have

a *likundu*, but in the case of the *baloki* (those who work *boloki*), the *likundu* is of evil nature. Children in play may accuse one another of having *likundu libe* (an evil intestine). The possession of *likundu libe* implies the power to work *boloki*, though the power is not necessarily used.

A further indication of the strength of the hold that *boloki* has was given at a recent church meeting when a respected elder of the Church, a Mission employé for forty years, asked: 'Is it wrong to accuse a friend of *boloki*? If we hear such accusations made by Church members should we remain silent? We all know that this matter still perplexes everyone now here. We believed the early missionaries when they told us that witchcraft was impossible, but the evidence of its working is always before our eyes. We implore you to tell us the truth in this palaver, whether what you say supports or denies the earlier teachings.' From the discussion which followed we were left in no doubt whatsoever that the proportion of those who are not troubled by fears of *boloki* is very small indeed.

The older people state that the belief in *boloki* is as widely held by the young people as ever it was. The elders had a certain respect for the white man and his teachings, which is markedly absent in the children, and the present mood of disillusion and suspicion of the Europeans and their motives serves to strengthen a return to the full acceptance of the old beliefs and ways. From other quarters we hear that there is hardly a death in the village but inquiries are immediately started to ascertain the name of the *moloki* responsible. Other factors indicating or tending to strengthen the belief in *boloki* will be apparent in the course of this study.

The belief is so widespread, and so firmly held, that it may be described as the greatest 'unheard palaver' and problem confronting them and us at the present time.

A STATEMENT OF THE BELIEF IN *Boloki*

Boloki is the activity which emanates from the *likundu libe* (evil-infested intestine). Before the advent of the white people it was possible to cut open the dead *moloki* and display the *likundu* for all to see. The *nganga* (diviner, witch-finder) was able to justify and corroborate his detection and accusation of the witch in this way. There are still plenty of elders in the village who can testify to having seen the source of *boloki* held before their eyes before the trial by poison was banned.

Boloki is generally inherited. It is known to be strong in certain families. The *boloki* of women is more lethal than that of men. Sometimes a parent, who believes that advantage accrues from the power to bewitch, confers the power on his or her child when the latter is deemed to be of age. One born free of *boloki* is known as *moyengwa*.¹

Boloki, as the power to bewitch, may also be obtained by one of two other methods. In the first case, medicines may be obtained from passing or resident Senegalese traders, which medicines, when digested, confer the desired gift. Again, it may be that a person goes to the *nganga* and makes this request: 'Cut my eyes that I may see equally well by day or night.' The implications of this request will be noticed later. The *nganga* then prepares medicine in liquid form, which he drops into the eyes of the applicant.

In former days it was always a relative of the bewitched person who had been guilty of the offence. With the present mix-up of tribes without respect to clan or tribal formation, as witnessed in the larger centres to-day, this distinction no longer holds good. Anyone can now be the guilty party, and as the field of possible witches has been thus enlarged, so, in proportion, has the feeling of insecurity.

¹ In the Moie and Tiene languages, *mwese*.

The *moloki* can work from any distance. A man in Bolobo may die as a result of the activity of a *moloki* living in Léopoldville or Stanleyville.

Every *moloki* has an animal agent of his power. This agent may be a crocodile, leopard, serpent, bird, centipede, or caterpillar.¹ At will the *moloki* can become his agent. No suggestion of metamorphosis is implied by this statement. There is some contradiction in statements as to ways in which *moloki* 'becomes' his agent. In some cases he is spoken of as sending his agent on a nefarious errand; in others it is just as definitely the *moloki* who went, 'though not in such a way that you would recognize him, of course, it was only his *molimo* (spirit) that went'. The context of such examples implies that the spirit in these cases is not embodied in any animal form.

The *baloki* have *miso ma mokolo* (night-eyes), by means of which they are able to see things not visible to ordinary people. They can see the spirits of people when these spirits travel. The *baloki* also have *liso libe* (evil eye), and by looking intently into the eyes of another person can see his spirit. Though they can in this way work the person harm, *baloki* are never held responsible for damage to crops or domestic animals. Their power is limited to molesting human spirits.

The *baloki* can work singly, but prefer to work in groups of six or seven. This *etong'e baloki*, as the group is called, may meet outside the village by night to decide on the errand of the night. The *baloki* then catch and eat, or tie up and hold captive, the *molimo* (spirit) of the victim. As *molimo* only travel by night the activities of the witches are confined to the hours of darkness. When the *baloki* have captured the *molimo* of a man in this way, the body of the victim sickens and dies unless the spirit can be brought back in time to avert this. The 'tying up' of a *molimo* is visible to all who have a *likundu libe*, though the actual deed may be the work of only a few. The relatives of the bewitched man therefore go to anyone reputed to have 'night-eyes', or *likundu libe*, i.e. to a *moloki* or *nganga*, that the name and nature of the guilty *moloki* may be revealed. Generally the *nganga* is not appealed to in the first instance, his fees are higher, and the preliminary investigations can be done by any acquaintance having the necessary powers. The friend to whom the request is first made may say: 'Very well, leave the matter to me and I will search.' This friend then goes off by night (that is to say, his *molimo* goes, while he sleeps) and later reports to those who consulted him. He may report in this fashion: 'The *molimo* you seek I saw tied up. I do not know the names of the *baloki* responsible. If you wish to learn their names you must go to the *nganga*. Tell him that I have seen, but not identified, a male *moloki* and a female *moloki* with the *molimo* in question. He will be able to help you.'

In the case of a *molimo* that is tied up, but not yet eaten, it can only be rescued by an *nganga* having *boloki* stronger than that of the captor. The captor may be *moloki* or *nganga*. In the trial of strength that ensues three possible results are to be noted: (i) The *nganga* may return to the relatives and inform them that he has freed the *molimo* and that the bewitched person will now recover. They need have no further fear as the *boloki* has been overcome. (ii) The *nganga* may report: 'I have insufficient power to deal with this case; the victim is held by strong *boloki*.' (iii) The mission of the *nganga* may have resulted in the following discovery: 'I have found the *molimo* as you required of me. That man incurred the wrath of the *baloki*, and is undergoing

¹ *Ezo* (plural *bizo*): demon, or sprite in myth, &c. Many say that *moloki*'s agent is *ezo*.

just punishment. They will not release this *molimo* except you deliver that of another member of the same clan into their hands.'

In all instances cited the *nganga* charges a fee for his aid. If he is impotent to do more than give the names of the guilty *boloki*, as in (ii), he is careful to recommend a specialist friend who will be of help.

If the victim of *boloki* has brought it upon himself by his ill deeds, as in (iii), his *molimo* remains tied up and will eventually be eaten, unless his family agrees to hand over the *molimo* of a person more easily spared. The head of the family, therefore, calls together all the members to discuss the *nganga*'s report. 'This man now held by the *boloki* is an adult', one may say, or, 'this woman is of marriageable age, let us exchange a baby for the adult'. The *nganga* is given the name of the baby or child to be exchanged, and at night he sets out to deliver its *molimo* to the witches. The previously bewitched man then recovers health as the baby loses it. It is essential that the child die so that all know that the witches will now rest satisfied.

When the child is sick the parents come to the Mission hospital with every show of grief lest their motive in doing so be called into question. They hide their pleasure as the child lies ill, neglect advice given to them, and then mourn without restraint when death takes the child from them.

A short time ago one of our church members, a successful ivory carver, was desperately ill. His father said: 'What is the cause of your illness, son? We must find out who is responsible.' The youth replied: 'It is all my own fault. I went off secretly down the Kasai and obtained the aid of an *nganga* of great fame in my ivory-work. I have not been true to the promises I then made to him, so no one else must die in my place. Let me die for the wrongs I have committed.' The father, also a Christian, acquiesced in this decision.

Sometimes another *moloki* can effect the exchange of *milimo*. If the mediator, be it *moloki* or *nganga*, decides that the victim is held by strong *boloki*, the suggested exchange is not effected, and the bewitched man therefore dies. Quite often the victims of *boloki* are resigned to their fate and accept the judgement of the *nganga* when he says it is all their own fault, as there are probably few Natives who have not committed some misdeed that they can call to mind.

Pierre was taken ill suddenly. He came to the hospital where no definite physical or medical trouble was diagnosed. A psychological hindrance to recovery was noted in his lack of desire to be cured. He seemed to have lost interest in life, and died in hospital. It was only after his death that we heard that he had been to an *nganga* and obtained *ncaso* medicine, that is, a medicine to ensure success in fishing. The agreed price for the medicine was 1,000 francs (about £5. 13s. 6d.), part to be paid at once, and the remainder to be paid on the completion of a number of successful fishing expeditions. In the latter part of the bargain Pierre had defaulted, and therefore accepted his mysterious illness as caused by the *boloki* of the *nganga*. His death was accepted as inevitable by his relatives when they heard the cause of his sickness.

In the nature of the case we never hear of specific instances of the exchange of *milimo*; the activities with this end in view are too secret to allow of any but the closest relatives knowing. Independent accounts of this procedure having taken place are sufficient to show that it is an integral part of the belief.

Two more recent cases of *boloki* will be readily understood, at least in their essentials, in the light of the foregoing information.

A certain youth went down-river in the company of several older men. In the course of a fishing expedition he was taken by a crocodile. When the fishing-party returned to Bolobo the relatives of the young man said: 'You are responsible for his disappearance. It was your plan to take him there that you might steal his *molimo* to deliver it to the witches so that they perform some service on your behalf.' These relatives told a number of Bolobo residents that the *molimo* had not yet been handed over to the *baloki* and that they were trying to persuade the older men to return the *molimo* to its rightful owner. When entreaty failed ('the men protested that they had done no such thing'), the case was taken to the Chief of the Centre Extra Coutoumier, who replied that the matter was outside his jurisdiction. The relatives continued to search for help, and were worked into a fine frenzy of endeavour by certain possessors of 'night-eyes' who swore to having seen the *molimo* taken from the river and placed in the boat and subsequently bound in the hut of one of the fishermen.

A young man died while on a trading journey to Léopoldville. Several old men of the village then stated that when he left they knew that this journey would be his last as they had seen the *baloki* trying to capture his *molimo* on several previous occasions, and this journey, made unaccompanied, gave them the opportunity they had been seeking.

POWERS ATTRIBUTED TO THE *Baloki*

It is apparent from the above statement that extraordinary sight is an attribute of the *baloki*. They can also take, bind, and eat *milimo*. Through the working of their *boloki* they can bring about illness or death. They are also believed to have the power of aggravating and extending any small matter until it becomes of great moment in the eyes of the person they are bewitching. Thus a little ulcer may become obstinate and refuse to heal, an insignificant difference of opinion may develop into an open quarrel as a direct result of the machinations of *baloki*. This is their work proper, and by it they turn their power to accomplish *boloki* to good account in settling scores with enemies, amassing wealth, &c.

The *baloki* are believed to possess certain other powers all deriving from their *boloki*, and this belief is substantiated by the testimony of the *baloki* themselves.

1. *Complete Identification with the Agent by which Moloki works*

If a certain man, a *moloki* who works with a crocodile as his agent, bears a certain resemblance to the reptile he is known as *Nkoli* (crocodile). Facial similarity is often a guide to the agent by which a *moloki* works. If he uses a crocodile he is spoken of as being the crocodile. Should it be wounded, he too suffers pain; if it is caught in a trap, *moloki* is not free to use his *boloki* until he secures his agent's release. When the crocodile dies, *moloki* will also die.

2. *Metamorphosis*

If a *moloki* should be caught while in a distant place, he can change himself into the animal form of his agent and escape.

When a *moloki* is about to die he will sometimes say: 'I am going to take the form

of my python.' The elders of that family are then called, and they beseech him not to do so. They tie his wrists tightly. Since the expressed desire of the elders cannot be lightly disregarded, no instances of metamorphosis are cited, with one exception. It is widely accepted in Bolobo that 'a white man living in French Equatorial Africa' summoned a *moloki* of repute and compelled him to become a crocodile.

3. *The Power to work Miracles*

Before the white men came into the country the *baloki* could perform wonders. One *moloki* crossing a hot plain called cool breezes to fan him as he walked, and trees on either side of the road to give him shade. Another *moloki* walked a great distance on a rainy day. He so controlled the weather that rain fell before and behind him, but he arrived at his destination perfectly dry. Several informants added: 'The *moloki* did this to increase his fame so that many would seek his aid. Other *baloki* seeing the degree of his power would hesitate to interfere with his work.'

4. *The Power to Steal the Milimo of Things*

If *moloki* sees something in the course of his travels that he wishes to possess he takes the *molimo* of the object, be it fish, bird, animal, or insect. On his arrival home *moloki* opens the package in which the *molimo* was confined for the journey and the object of his theft emerges. A bad *moloki* introduces mosquitoes into his village in this manner.

5. *The Power of Controlling Birds*

There is no doubt that certain men are able to attract birds to live in the trees adjacent to their homes. This phenomenon is attributed to the *boloki* the man possesses. The *moloki* may claim this to be the reason, and when he goes on a journey he dismisses the birds until the time of his return. It is usually the weaver birds who congregate in this manner. They can, of course, nest in other trees apart from *moloki*'s control.

BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH THE *Nganga* AND THE CONTROL OF *Boloki*

One *nganga* may be famous for medicines connected with physical complaints not directly due to *boloki*. Another, with whom we are here more concerned, has a great reputation for dealing with illnesses, death, and palavers of various sorts arising from the activities of the *baloki*. When approached with a view to his revealing the identity of the *moloki* responsible in any particular case, the *nganga* is asked to *yama ndoko*, to 'smell out witchcraft'. *Yama* is a transitive verb meaning to brew, squeeze, or wring out, or, more colloquially, to inquire for, or seek. *Ndoko*, derived from the verb *loko*, to bewitch, means the same in ordinary speech as *boloki*.

Procedure followed in the matter of detecting and exposing the witch naturally varies from *nganga* to *nganga* and probably from case to case. Here are two such cases.

The *nganga* told those who sought his aid to bring to him a brassrod (ancient currency, worth 5 centimes). He then slept with his head resting on this rod, and in the morning passed on to his clients the information he had gained through his dreams: 'I saw Mr. A. tying up the *molimo* of the person you wish to help.'

'What can we do to counteract his *boloki*?' he is asked.

The *nganga* then prepares a protective amulet and perhaps a small packet of assorted oddments guaranteed to ward off *boloki*. In this packet curiously shaped seeds, small shells, feathers, herbs, &c., all feature, and in one case the medicine made to counteract *boloki* contained, we were told, a little tuft of hair cut from the head of the person against whom the *boloki* was directed. The protective medicine is known as *mokombe*; the amulet or package, as *etingo*.

In the second case the *nganga* summoned the family of the affected man, and set before them a clay bowl of water into which he put 'medicine'. He stirred the liquid, and peered into the bowl, and in the swirling reflections 'saw' the *moloki* responsible. With an impressive 'Ah!' he pierced the *moloki* as seen in the water, with a splinter spear, and called out the name for all to hear. Having obtained the name of the guilty *moloki*, the family bought *etingo* for their sick relative, and requested *nganga* to prepare further medicines to induce sickness in the *moloki*. *Nganga* replied: 'He will die, have I not speared him?'

The protective medicines and amulets had a great vogue here a few years ago when the *nganga* found new names for them. Possibly the 'new' forms of protection were considered advisable in view of the new ways of *boloki* that had been encountered from strangers, as distinct from kinsmen, for example. The new names were *tambu* or *mani* for the medicine to ward off *boloki* (previously known as *etingo*), and *moyeke* for the package supplied by *nganga* to those who sought his help in the quest for wealth.

Moyeke was always purchased along with a python or crocodile to act as agent in the bringing home of the wealth. As the agent was rewarded by a gift of the *molimo* of any relative, or in these days any acquaintance, of its owner, so it showed its gratitude to him by depositing money in his house by night. The *nganga*'s function was thus a double one. He both provided the *ncaso* or *moyeke* that ensures wealth through the working of *boloki*, and also *etingo* or *tambu* which provides protection against the *boloki* of others. The *nganga*, in common with *moloki*, has night-eyes. Some say he has *likundu libe*, as *banganga* are known to prey on one another.

The *nganga* is therefore feared as a powerful worker of *boloki*, but since, unlike the *baloki*, he can be persuaded on occasion to use his power on behalf of the victim of *boloki*, he is regarded as a helper, an ally who knows the defences of the other side.

REASONS FOR THE CONTINUING STRENGTH OF THE BELIEF IN *Boloki*

1. *Boloki explains the obvious disparity in degrees of wealth as seen in Bolobo.* If a certain ivory-worker sells his work as fast as he can do it, and at high prices, it is immediately taken for granted that he has surrendered some relative to the *baloki* as wages for their favourable intervention.

This belief is considerably strengthened by the declaration of some, which may be made in these terms: 'I did no good until I obtained *moyeke* from *nganga*.'

2. *Boloki accounts for the incalculable factor in human existence*, and therefore puts one in the way of controlling one's destiny when other known aids fail.

Two men had small ulcers on their legs, beginning the same week. Both came for medical aid. Within a short time one of the ulcers was healed, but the other persisted over a long time, and resisted all treatment. *Boloki* was the explanation of the con-

tinued trouble the second man experienced. But for the malevolence of some witch both cases would have yielded to the treatment.

3. *Boloki provides a scapegoat for every incident calling for revenge, and soothes the nerves of the overwrought.* After several people had been taken by crocodiles it was generally agreed that 'something must be done about it'. One Sunday morning we heard a terrific hullabaloo; the crowd was yelling '*Molokiooooo, nkoliooooo, moloki, nkoli!*' The reason was that the witch thought to be responsible was being pushed off in a canoe, hustled out of the village with her few belongings, and forbidden to return. She was not a native of Bolobo, and apparently it was the Chief's discovery of the fact that 'her papers were not all in order' that first drew suspicion to her. The atmosphere was noticeably freer after her departure.

4. *Boloki provides the nganga with a ready excuse for the failure of his medicines.* Every *nganga* knows some useful remedies, and may himself believe, therefore, that all his medicines, or at least those proved successful in many cases, will work only if unhindered by *boloki*.

5. *Boloki provides means of acquitting Nyambe of some of the evils that befall man.* Whether God was thought of as 'good' before the coming of Christian missions is open to question. At present the Christian conception of God has permeated even the thought-world of the pagans. When a child dies in the village, an elder will say: 'Look at this dead child, if God is Love would He kill in this way? Of course not. This is the result of *boloki*.'

Sometimes this declaration fixes the blame on Satan if the child belonged to a Christian family. The belief in the cause of death is substantially the same, except that the enlightened ones now know the name of the *moloki*.

A few of the younger generation have refused to entertain any suggestion of *boloki* at the time of the death of their children.

6. *Boloki satisfies the craving for news of the supernatural.* There is a widely held belief that if only a man is in touch with the right sources he can have complete knowledge of the causes of every experience he has, or will have. French books written by astrologists are read and in part understood, and coming from 'whites' carry great authority and seem to support the truth of *boloki*. The few who seem free of *boloki*'s hold wistfully read or discuss theosophy or astrology in their efforts to understand the present and know the future.

7. *Confessions of boloki.* We sometimes hear it said: 'Can a man confess to being someone who does not exist, or to doing what is impossible? Surely if anyone knows the truth or falsity of *boloki* it is the *boloki* themselves.' A man will claim to control a certain beach by means of his crocodile. At a gathering of the family to ascertain the *moloki* responsible for the troubles experienced, the person accused will accept and say: 'Truly I can see that it is I who am responsible for this misfortune.'

8. *The universality of a term to denote 'witchcraft'.* Many Bolobo natives have travelled widely, and on their return have confirmed the truth that far distant tribes 'know all about *boloki*'. Some have searched in European dictionaries and ply us with questions regarding the equivalent terms and their origins and the mode of *boloki* in our own countries. To those who know a little French, the mere inclusion of a term in Larousse's dictionary is sufficient proof of the veracity of the definition and the whole theory for which the term may stand.

9. *Confusion arising from the use of moloki in the lingua franca of the River (Lingala), to denote a man of evil repute.* Bobangi being one of the parent languages of Lingala, the terms *boloki* and *ndoki* are, strictly speaking, properly used in connexion with witchcraft, and *moloki* to denote a wizard or witch (*vide* Guthrie, *Lingala Grammar and Dictionary*, Léopoldville, 1935). In common parlance, however, speakers of Lingala often use *boloki* as equivalent to evil, wrong-doing, and mischief. The use of a phrase such as *ndoki na yo* may be intended to convey 'your badness'. It is quite as likely to suggest 'your witchcraft' to those acquainted with the Bobangi language.

The difficulties involved in denying the existence of *baloki* (in the sense used in this study: 'witches'), may be grasped when it is realized that Lingala books produced by the Roman Catholic Church make use of the term, admittedly with a different interpretation in mind. BUKU YA NZAMBE (Ancien Testament), NSANGO NDAMU (Nouveau Testament), Procure des Frères Maristes, Buta 1936, contains the following passage:

*Baloki bakoyokela Nzambe nkanda.
Kasi bakoyeba kusala Yeye mabe te.
Na nsima bakomeka kubenda batu o linselu.
Baloki bakosenginya bisu.*

Baloki feel angry with God.
For they know they are unable to work Him harm.
Later they try to draw men into Hades.
Baloki set us at enmity one with another.

and again, p. 10,

Baloki bayokeli Adamu na Eva njuwa.

The baloki were jealous of Adam and Eve.

This is not the place for comment on the doctrine involved in the statements made, beyond indicating the extent to which the use of the term misleads the readers. It is too late to free the term *moloki* of its associations, and the inclusion of the term in books of instruction only serves to augment the people's knowledge of *boloki*, whatever the intentions of the writer may be.

Boloki finds further corroboration in the following passage, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11, in the story of Adam and Eve.

Sikawa ayingeli o nzoto ya nyoka.

Now he changes his form to that of a serpent. . . .

and ' *Moloki* said to her with a crafty message, "Why can you not eat this fruit?" '

A book that carries the imprint of the white man and admits the use of a serpent-form by *moloki* gives the belief considerable support.

CONCLUSION

The present state of things is that, as far as we can assess the matter for ourselves, *boloki* is not decreasing its hold on the people's minds, rather the reverse. The present mood is one of bewilderment that we do not admit that the whole belief in *boloki* is true. That we secretly believe this to be so is not a question for doubt in their minds.

There are also too many interested parties for *boloki* to die an easy death. The

nganga makes too good a living to surrender his part without a struggle. He may be convinced of the necessity of his actions, but more often he is motivated by a desire to make as much from his position as he can. One young man, convinced that he had done wrong in purchasing *etingo* from an *nganga*, went to return it. The *nganga* charged him twice as much to take the *etingo* back into stock as he had done for the original sale of it.

The teaching of science in the schools has done little to counteract the belief. New ideas of causation still leave unanswered the *why* of human experiences. *Boloki* is a complicated guess at the solution to the unknown and incalculable problems of life. A guess which so satisfactorily provides the reasons for misfortune, illness, and death will only yield as with increased knowledge there comes a realization of the limits to which we may safely rely on the powers of reason alone. We are then left with the mystery of evil, the problem of pain, and the vexing questions of good and ill luck, and in our resolution of these things *to the satisfaction of the Natives* we shall enable them to leave behind a belief that at present is responsible for much needless fear, expense, suspicion, distrust, and unhappiness.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

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TWENTY-FIRST MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE

21-3 *March* 1949

THE twenty-first meeting of the Executive Council was held in Paris, at the Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale, by the courtesy of its Director, M. le Professeur Combes. There were present, Lord Rennell in the Chair; Professor Daryll Forde, Administrative Director; Professor De Jonghe and Professor Griaule, Consultative Directors; Mr. Judd, Hon. Treasurer; Sir John Waddington, Professor Ward, Professor Evans-Pritchard, Dr. Audrey Richards (Great Britain); M. Charton (France); Professor Olbrechts, Professor De Cleene (Belgium); Professor Grottanelli (Italy); Father Perbal (Conférence Romaine des Missions Catholiques en Afrique); Dr. Idenburg (Holland); Professor Mendez Corrêa (Portugal); Professor Herskovits (U.S.A.); Professor Lindblom (Sweden); Dr. Nadel (representing Professor Schapera, South Africa); Mrs. B. E. Wyatt, Secretary; Miss H. Alpin, Asst. Secretary.

Members of the Council arrived in Paris on Sunday, 19 March, and met for dinner at the Cercle d'Outre-mer on Sunday evening. The meetings of the Council started on 20 March at 10 a.m. and the session was opened by M. le Gouverneur Général Delavignette, Directeur des Affaires Politiques du Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer, who in welcoming the Council on behalf of the French Government said:

‘Je tiens tout d’abord à excuser le Ministre de la France d’Outre-mer, Monsieur Coste-Floret, qui est retenu loin de Paris et m’a chargé de le représenter parmi vous.

‘Monsieur Coste-Floret est au regret de n’avoir pas pu être là ce matin. Il a déjà marqué l’intérêt qu’il portait à votre Conseil exécutif, à votre institut, à vos recherches. Il déclarait que la recherche était un des atouts majeurs de la politique en Afrique Noire et ne s’est pas borné à des déclarations: je crois savoir qu’il a signé une lettre chaleureuse qui accrédite Monsieur Guthrie auprès des Hauts-Commissaires de l’Afrique Équatoriale et du Cameroun.

‘Il est inutile que je développe ici des idées que vous connaissez tous, qui vous sont chères à tous et qui conduiront la recherche que vous dirigez par vos travaux personnels. S’il était nécessaire de marquer encore l’intérêt de ces travaux, je crois qu’actuellement dans la charge que j’occupe, je trouverais des raisons excellentes.

‘La semaine dernière encore, au cours d’une commission inter-ministérielle, j’ai pu constater l’ignorance regrettable dans laquelle certains fonctionnaires, qui passent cependant pour être cultivés, se tiennent par rapport à l’Afrique. Je fais allusion à un fonctionnaire qui, paraît-il, sort d’une de nos grandes écoles, qui est jeune, qui par conséquent a été, ou aurait dû être élevé dans la connaissance des dernières découvertes de l’Afrique; et bien: il pensait qu’il était facile d’installer rapidement dans l’Afrique Tropicale 300.000 européens! C’est vous dire la nécessité de vos travaux, c’est vous dire le bien que peut faire votre Institut. Le dernier mot appartient toujours à la vérité scientifique et, en recherchant cette vérité, sans vous soucier le moins du monde d’une politique utilitaire, vous dirigez quand même. Je vous souhaite une heureuse session et je la déclare ouverte.’

The Chairman in reply expressed the Council’s appreciation of the minister’s

welcome, and of the hospitality of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer. M. Combes, Directeur de l'Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale, in welcoming members of the Council, said:

'Je vous souhaite la bienvenue dans notre Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale. Vous êtes ici dans une maison où l'on s'occupe de toutes les parties de la science, mais les Sciences Humaines y sont particulièrement en honneur. Vous aurez l'occasion de rencontrer plusieurs de mes collaborateurs qui ont fait de bons travaux dans ce domaine: les uns qui rentrent de mission et vous montreront leurs résultats, d'autres qui préparent leur départ et parleront de leurs projets. J'espère que vous vous sentirez chez vous dans la grande famille scientifique internationale. Je suis certain que mes collaborateurs seront heureux de vous être utiles, de vous aider, de vous donner les renseignements nécessaires pendant votre séjour. Mon collaborateur, le Gouverneur Deschamps mettra à votre disposition ses connaissances et son personnel. Je fais des vœux bien sincères pour le succès de vos travaux.'

The Chairman, after thanking M. Combes, proceeded to introduce the business before the meeting; he referred briefly to the aims and scope of the Institute's activities as they were envisaged by Lord Lugard, its first Chairman, who, in 1928 wrote: 'The Institute . . . will undertake and assist in anthropological and linguistic investigations, but it will at the same time attempt to relate the results of research to the actual life of the African peoples and to discover how the investigations undertaken by scientific workers may be made available for the solution of pressing questions that are the concern of all those who . . . are working for the good of Africa.' The Chairman pointed out that new opportunities for realizing these aims were presented and a new phase in the Institute's development was initiated as a result of its recognition by U.N.E.S.C.O. as an agency for research, and the collaboration with U.N.E.S.C.O. in certain projects which would be discussed later.

The Council then proceeded to deal with the Agenda—which included the presentation of reports on current work by the Directors (see p. 233), the presentation of the annual accounts and balance sheet by the Hon. Treasurer (see p. 232). The Constitution as revised in accordance with the recommendations of the Council at its last meeting was adopted, as was the revised list of Governing Members.

The remaining sessions on 21 and 22 March were devoted to a discussion of the future activities of the Institute, the scope of its researches, and their practical usefulness. Members of Council made various suggestions concerning topics on which research was needed, and it was agreed that *Africa* should include as a regular feature accounts of current researches being undertaken by other agencies in any part of the world. Some time was devoted to discussion of the scheme for publishing a review devoted to Abstracts of current literature on African studies (see *Africa*, xix, 2, p. 160).

On Tuesday afternoon, 22 March, members of the Council visited the Musée de l'Homme, where they were received by Professor Rivet, and afterwards inspected the exhibition of objects collected by M. Lebeuf during his recent expedition to Lake Chad. Later in the afternoon, at a special meeting of the Société des Africanistes, M. Griaule read a paper on *Les Religions des Noirs*, in which he urged the need for a sympathetic and objective study of the profoundly important religious and philosophical systems of the African peoples, and for a recognition of the genuine spiritual value of these systems.

On Wednesday, 23 March, members of the Council were the guests of the Conseil de l'Union Française at Versailles, where they were received by S.A. la Princesse Yukanthor Pingpeang, Vice-President of the Assemblée of the Union. Members of the Council were presented to the Vice-President, who welcomed them in a graceful speech to which M. Griaule replied. She then showed them the Council Chamber where meetings of the Assemblée were held, and described the conduct of the meetings. The Princess withdrew after introducing the Conservateur-Adjoint du Musée de Versailles who afforded the party the privilege of visiting many galleries and apartments not usually open to the public and of hearing an account of their history and their special beauties from an expert who combined an encyclopaedic knowledge of his subject with a lively and sensitive appreciation of the artistic quality of the collections to which he clearly devoted the most loving care. Returning to Paris, the Council was entertained to lunch at the Cercle d'Outre-mer by the Ministre de la France d'Outre-mer, who was represented by his Chef de Cabinet. The cordial friendship and co-operation of the French Government was thus signalized by a gesture of hospitality as generous as it was elegant.

The sincere thanks of the Council, officers, and members of the Institute are due to our courteous French Director, M. Griaule, and to the enthusiastic and indefatigable M. Charton, for the arrangements made for our accommodation and entertainment; to the Director and staff of the Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale for their most friendly hospitality and unstinting help, and to the Ministre de la France d'Outre-mer for his gracious reception of the Council and the cordial expression of his interest in the work of the Institute.

REPORT OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

THE Honorary Treasurer, in presenting the audited accounts and balance sheet for the year ending 30 December 1948, drew attention to the altered form in which the accounts were drawn up, whereby the general funds of the Institute were distinguished from special grants received. He pointed out that the deficit of £360. 15s. 0d. on the Income and Expenditure account was less than the deficit in the previous year and less than the estimated deficit for the year under review. He appealed, however, for more subscriptions and donations to the general funds of the Institute and urged members of the Council to endeavour to increase the membership of the Institute in their several countries and to secure donations from institutions and organizations interested in Africa.

CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE INSTITUTE

IT was with very real regret and disappointment that the Council received Lord Rennell's resignation of the Chairmanship of the Institute. It recognized that during his all too short tenure of this office Lord Rennell had displayed an energetic grasp of the Institute's policy and a vivid and intelligent interest in its development. He had presided with skill and distinction at two meetings of the Executive Council,

at which his notable linguistic gifts were a material assistance to the smooth and rapid conduct of the discussions. Pressure of other work, in particular his commitments in the House of Lords, now makes it impossible for him to give sufficient time to the direction of the Institute's policy, but he is maintaining his connexion with it by consenting to act as one of the Institute's trustees.

The Council unanimously invited Sir John Waddington to succeed Lord Rennell, and Sir John has consented to serve. He is already closely connected with the Institute as Chairman of the Committee which is directing the African Marriage Survey. His distinguished record in Africa as Governor of N. Rhodesia, his contacts in many African territories, both British and French, and his sympathetic interest in the studies which the Institute pursues are sufficient grounds for confidence that he will maintain its reputation and stimulate its progress and development.

The resignation of Sir Reginald Coupland, who has been associated with the Institute almost from its foundation and who acted as Administrative Director during the early war years, is a matter of deep regret to all members who have known him and appreciated his wise handling of affairs and his discerning approach to problems of policy. The Council has elected as his successor M. Robert Delavignette, Directeur des Affaires Politiques du Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer, whose experience of African territories will be of great value to its deliberations, and whose appointment to the Executive Council is further evidence of the international friendship and collaboration which this Institute has been instrumental in fostering.

REPORTS ON CURRENT RESEARCHES

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

THE Administrative Director reported as follows on the current research activities organized by the Institute:

(i) *Ethnographic Survey*

Ten research assistants under the supervision, for various areas, of Professors Evans-Pritchard and Schapera, Drs. M. Gluckman, K. Little, Van Warmelo, and myself, have been engaged on the survey for varying periods during the past year. A considerable body of work is now nearing completion, and arrangements are being made for the publication of a number of sections during 1949.

West Africa

Sections on the Yoruba, Ibo, Ibibio, Ijaw, and the pagan peoples of northern Nigeria are being completed for immediate publication, as are studies of the Akan, Ga, and Mole Dagbane peoples of the Gold Coast and adjacent territories, and of the Mende, Temne, and related peoples of Sierra Leone and Liberia. Arrangements are being made for extending the work to other parts of West Africa.

Representations were recently made to the Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale with regard to the provision of research assistants to extend the survey more widely in French West African territories.

Eastern Africa

Dr. Meinhard, with the assistance of a special grant on the budget of the Makerere Social Science Institute, went to Tanganyika in July last for a period of eighteen months to work through documents available only in the territory, and, by personal interviews and surveys, to collect material to supplement the very inadequate published data on the peoples of this territory. His inquiries will extend to certain areas in adjacent British, Belgian, and Portuguese territories. The material available has proved to be so considerable that the Colonial Office has approved our request for assistance to enable his wife to join him for a year, from February 1949.

A research assistant has begun work on the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic peoples, but work on the Somali and other peoples of the Horn of Africa has had to be suspended owing to the illness of Dr. Steiner. A survey of the peoples of the Lake Nyasa region, including the Yao, Maravi, Tumbuka, Ngonde, and Ngoni peoples, has been completed, and arrangements are being made for the early completion of work on the western areas of Northern Rhodesia and adjacent territories.

Southern Africa

A draft survey of the peoples of the High Commission Territories of southern Africa is being revised by Professor Schapera, and progress is reported on the survey of the peoples of South Africa.

Central Africa

Professor Olbrechts reports that considerable progress is being made with the analysis of material assembled at the Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren, which, together with a recent survey in the Belgian Congo by Mlle Boone, will make comparable surveys for the Belgian Congo possible in the near future.

The period of the initial grant received from the British Colonial Office for the prosecution of the survey comes to an end in December 1949, but a small balance will remain for additional work, and application will be made for a further grant to enable the survey to be extended.

(ii) Handbook of African Languages

Dr. Guthrie's study on the *Classification of Bantu Languages*, published in October 1948, has evoked wide interest and discussion. A further memorandum by Miss Bryan on the *Distribution of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic Languages*, with linguistic analyses by Dr. Tucker, was published in November. Some of the four projected volumes of the general survey of the languages of Africa will be ready for publication this summer, the remainder are due to appear in the spring of 1950. The volume on the languages of North Africa is being prepared by Professor Basset and financed by the French Government; those on the languages of Bantu Africa (edited by Dr. Guthrie), West Africa (Professor Westermann), and North-East Africa (Dr. Tucker) will be prepared and published with the aid of a grant from the British Colonial Office. In addition to the four-volume survey, special studies of particular groups

of languages are being prepared by Professor Lukas, Professor Westermann, Dr. Tucker, and others.

(iii) *Effect of Modern Contacts upon the African Family, with Special Reference to Marriage Laws and Customs*

Work on this project started in July 1948. An Executive Committee, representing the Institute, the International Missionary Council, and other interested bodies, has held three meetings under the Chairmanship of Sir John Waddington. Mr. Arthur Phillips, formerly Legal Adviser to the Government of Kenya, has been appointed as Director of the research team, and is himself engaged on a study of the administrative and legal aspects of the problem. The other members of the team are Dr. Lucy Mair, who is concerned with the sociological aspect of the inquiry, and the Rev. Lyndon Harries, who has had long experience in East Africa and is studying the literature related to the policy and activities of missions. A questionnaire has been sent to a large number of Catholic and Protestant Missions in Africa, and a request for information has been addressed to Administrative Officers in British territories through the medium of a British Colonial Office publication. The research team has undertaken to produce its report in 1950.

(iv) *Cameroons Field Research*

Dr. Kaberry's field investigation into the Economic Position of Women was concluded in the summer of 1948, and her preliminary report will shortly be completed and presented by the Institute to the Government of Nigeria and the British Colonial Office. Dr. Kaberry will then proceed to a full-length study of the social and economic life of the Nsaw and other Bamenda peoples, and will also prepare material for the Cameroons section of the Ethnographic Survey.

(v) *Linguistic Field Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland*

The arrangements for this field survey reported last year are being carried out. The four members of the research team—Father van Bulck, M. Jacquot, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Hackett—after a course of study and training at the School of Oriental and African Studies have recently left this country for Africa; Father van Bulck and Mr. Hackett are going by way of the Sudan to the Belgian Congo, and M. Jacquot and Mr. Richardson to Douala, to begin work in the western sector and proceed eastwards. Dr. Tucker and Dr. Guthrie who accompanied the two teams at the outset will rejoin the whole group later.

(vi) *Institute Field Research in the Belgian Congo*

With the collaboration of the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale, arrangements have been made for carrying out a study of the role of kinship in the community life of one of the matrilineal peoples of the south-west Belgian Congo, probably the Bashilele. Miss Mary Tew, who has been working on the Nyasaland region for the Ethnographic Survey, has been invited to undertake this work, and left in April for one year's study in the field. We are very happy to have had the advantage of collaboration with I.R.S.A.C. in this research and are most grateful for the valuable assistance it has provided.

ACTIVITÉS ETHNOLOGIQUES ET LINGUISTIQUES BELGES, 1948-9

Rapport de M. De Jonghe

M. le Professeur Forde a mentionné dans sa rapport la mission d'études ethnologiques de Mlle Boone et le projet de Miss Tew. Je veux signaler quelques autres réalisations qui sont de nature à intéresser l'Institut International Africain.

Les études du P. Schebesta et du P. Schumacher sur les pygmées du Congo sont connues. Le premier a publié la sociologie des pygmées de l'Ituri dans les Mémoires in-4° de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge. Son étude sur la religion de ces pygmées paraîtra dans la même collection avant la fin de l'année. Le premier volume du P. Schumacher sur les pygmées du Kivu sortira de presse dans un mois. Il sera suivi d'une série imposante d'autres volumes.

Les prestations de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge n'ont pas été moindres en matière de linguistique africaine. Le P. Van Bulck a publié une mise au point très documentée des recherches linguistiques au Congo Belge, et son ouvrage intitulé 'Manuel des langues bantoues' paraîtra dans le courant de l'été. Ces deux volumes sont d'un intérêt incontestable pour les auteurs du *Handbook* projeté par l'Institut International Africain.

Toujours dans les publications de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge, nous relevons deux études du P. De Boeck: 'Taalkunde en talenkwestie in Kongo' et un examen des dialectes parlés dans l'entre-Congo-Bas Ubangi. Un dictionnaire du Kiyanzi par le P. Swartenbroeckx a été polycopié et distribué aux chercheurs du Kwango en vue de leur permettre de compléter le vocabulaire dont le texte définitif sera publié en même temps que la monographie ethnographique de la peuplade. Un choix de textes Alur du P. Van Neste est également sous presse.

Le jeune P. Stappers a entrepris depuis plus d'un an l'étude détaillée d'une série de dialectes parlés dans le Kasai-Sankuru, notamment chez les Baluba-Bambo et chez les Baluba Nshankadi. Nous attendons avec impatience les premiers résultats des recherches de cet ancien élève de l'École des langues orientales de Londres.

Enfin, l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge a chargé le Professeur Burssens d'une mission de six mois au Congo en vue d'initier aux méthodes de recherches linguistiques un groupe de séminaristes et de prêtres indigènes du Kivu.

Il me reste quelques mots à dire des activités de la Commission d'Ethnologie, qui se réunit régulièrement tous les mois. Elle a pris l'initiative de proposer à l'I.R.S.A.C. l'acquisition d'une douzaine de troussees anthropométriques et d'autant d'appareils enregistreurs 'Brush Sound Mirror' qui seront mis, sur leur demande, à la disposition des chercheurs sur le terrain. Les collaborateurs scientifiques sont actuellement au nombre de quatre. Ils ont mis au point l'importante documentation bibliographique du Bureau ethnographique de Tervuren.

Un premier essai de monographies ethnographiques a été élaboré. Il porte sur une peuplade bantoue, les Bayanzi, et une peuplade soudanaise, les Ngbandi. La Commission a décidé d'étendre la monographie des Bayanzi à leurs voisins immédiats, les Baboma, Badja, Basakita, Bansongo et Bambunda et plus tard aux Bateke, Bawumbu et Banbela; et celle des Ngbandi sera étendue aux Bwaka et aux Banza.

Il a été décidé en outre d'entamer l'étude d'une peuplade nilotique, les Logo, en attendant que les enquêtes puissent englober la totalité des peuplades du Congo Belge.

Je crois devoir insister sur le caractère provisoire de ces monographies. Celles-ci sont surtout destinées à faire découvrir les lacunes de notre documentation actuelle. Elles seront polycopiées en même temps que les questionnaires complémentaires et distribuées aux chercheurs sur le terrain en vue de l'élaboration de textes définitifs.

Pour leur exécution, un double plan est prévu : celui qui répond au questionnaire de notre Institut international et qui est plus directement centré sur la pratique coloniale, et celui qui répond au questionnaire plus complet de la Commission belge d'ethnologie.

De cette façon, la documentation pourra être utilisée pour le 'Survey' ethnographique africain projeté par notre Institut international en même temps qu'elle pourra servir à la collection des monographies ethnographiques du Congo Belge, qui sera publiée par l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge et qui constituera un inventaire complet du patrimoine culturel des peuplades congolaises, répondant à toutes les exigences de la science ethnologique moderne.

RECHERCHES EN AFRIQUE FRANÇAISE

Rapport de M. Griaule

La 7^{ème} Mission Griaule au Soudan Français

La septième mission Griaule, qui a quitté Paris en mai 1948 était composée de Marcel Griaule, Solange de Ganay, Germaine Dieterlen et M. Zahan. Elle a séjourné longtemps dans la région de Ségou et dans les Falaises de Bandiagara, puis près de San, enfin en Haute Volta dans la région de Tougan. La mission a poursuivi les études entreprises lors des précédents séjours chez les Dogon, les Bambara, les Bozo et a procédé à des enquêtes de base chez les Bobo et les Samogo.

Concernant les Dogon et les Bambara, la documentation peut être comprise comme constituant le couronnement des travaux poursuivis au Soudan depuis 1931. Ces deux populations ont livré une métaphysique et une mythologie cohérentes, qui expliquent l'origine et l'organisation de l'univers. Le système cosmogonique qui repose sur des bases identiques (qualité vibratoire de la matière, notion du verbe réorganisateur et moteur du monde, gémellité des êtres vivants) se développe selon des processus originaux dans chacune d'elles. Il se répercute en un symbolisme d'une extrême richesse dans les rites, les techniques, les matériels religieux et profanes, les gestes, et imprègne toute la vie sociale. Cette métaphysique n'est d'ailleurs pas réservée à ces deux seules populations : elle est également connue des Bozo et semble appartenir en propre à tous les groupes de forgerons qui vivent en symbiose avec les divers éléments ethniques du Soudan. D'autre part les enquêtes extensives menées chez les Bobo et les Samogo en vue d'un travail intensif ultérieur, ont déjà fait apparaître des éléments identiques à ceux décrits ci-dessus. Ainsi la connaissance de la pensée des Soudanais marque un véritable tournant des études africaines.

Monsieur Zahan séjourne actuellement au Soudan Français, où il étudie notamment la population Mossi, tant dans son habitat normal que sur les terrains de culture mis à la disposition de groupes plus ou moins importants par l'Office du Niger.

Les problèmes qui ont été proposés à l'attention de M. Zahan par les services qui l'utilisent concernent les modalités générales du transfert de certains éléments Mossi sur le terrain de travail : organisation de la chefferie, de scultes, de la famille et

rapports avec la région d'origine. La question délicate du mariage est l'une des premières qui soit actuellement étudiée par M. Zahan.

Il convient de signaler non seulement l'intérêt d'études qui s'avèrent déjà riches en enseignements nouveaux, mais celui des conclusions pratiques qui peuvent en être tirées pour la collaboration des Blancs et des Noirs dans l'exploitation rationnelle du sol africain.

Mission ethnographique et archéologique en pays tchadien (Mission Logone-Lac Fitri 1947-1948).

La mission composée de J. P. Lebeuf (Chargé de Recherches au Centre National de la Recherche scientifique) et de sa femme A. Masson-Detourbet (Chargée de Travaux de l'Institut National d'Études démographiques), était patronnée par les Hauts Commissariats en Afrique Équatoriale Française et au Cameroun, le Gouvernement du Tchad et de nombreux établissements et organismes scientifiques.

La mission a séjourné pendant près d'un an dans la région du Tchad, a repris la vaste enquête ethnographique et archéologique entreprise par les Missions Sahara-Cameroun et Niger-Lac Iro (4^{ème} et 5^{ème} Missions Griaule) auxquelles J. P. Lebeuf appartenait. Les recherches entreprises ont été les suivantes :

1. *Ethnographie kotoko*; a porté plus spécialement sur: établissements anciens, migrations, généalogies, organisation sociale et politique, religion traditionnelle, divination et magie, techniques (poterie, tissage, teinture), commerce et économie, évolution actuelle, rapports avec les populations voisines (Arabes, Babalya, Boulala).

2. *Démographie kotoko*; ont été étudiés: les mouvements migratoires contemporains, le chiffre total de la population, le pourcentage des hommes et des femmes, l'influence de l'installation des Européens;

3. *Archéologie sao*; 31 buttes attribuées aux Sao, ancêtres des actuels Kotoko, ont été explorés; 200 gisements ont été déterminés. Ces fouilles ont permis de recueillir un important matériel composé principalement de:

outillage néolithique (haches polies et pointes de flèche) provenant des buttes orientales, *bronze*: pendentifs, anneaux, bijoux divers,

terre cuite: urnes funéraires, pièces de monnaie, vases, poids de filet, fusaïoles, masques; l'essentiel de la trouvaille consiste en statuettes de terre cuite d'un modèle absolument nouveau (représentations anthropomorphes parfois à tête d'animal, ancêtres divinisés, monstres, statuettes zoomorphes).

Cette dernière partie des trouvailles appuie l'hypothèse des rapports suivis qui, à une époque indéterminée actuellement, unirent la plaine du Tchad et la Méditerranée orientale; et, peut-être, le Proche Orient.

Une partie des collections archéologiques est déposée à l'I.F.A.N. (Douala) et à l'I.E.C. (Brazzaville); une autre est destinée au Musée de l'Homme (Paris).

RECHERCHES EN AFRIQUE PORTUGAISE

Rapport de M. Mendes Corrêa

Dans la Guinée Portugaise l'excellente besogne ethnographique dirigée par M. Teixeira da Mota est continuée et des recherches linguistiques par M. Edmundo Correia Lopes y ont été réalisées, spécialement sur les Foulahs du Gabu et sur le

Bissagós. Malheureusement ce chercheur a été frappé de mort par une maladie grave quand il travaillait dans l'archipel des Bissagós. La mission anthropologique dirigée par M. Magalhaes Mateus, qui a fait des travaux sur le champ en 1946 et 1947, prépare maintenant les travaux en chambre sur les matériaux recueillis.

En Angola, M. Antonio d'Almeida a fait en 1948 des recherches anthropologiques et ethnologiques sur quelques tribus bantoues ou pré-bantoues, très curieuses et malconnues, du sud-ouest (les Kuroka ou Va-Kuepe, les Bakuanda, les Bakuisi, les Kuanyoka, les Mukuamatari, etc.). Il poursuivra en 1949 ses recherches.

M. Ilidio Lopes, professeur de Kinbundu dans l'École Supérieure Coloniale de Lisbonne, va dans le mois de juin prochain réaliser dans le nord d'Angola quelques recherches linguistiques sur les peuplades Kinbundu et d'autres.

Pendant l'année de 1948 M. Santos Junior a réalisé sa 6^{ème} campagne de recherches anthropologiques en Mozambique. Il a étudié les Makua, les Lomwés, les Erakis, les Xakas, les Ajawas, les Metus, etc. Il a surtout étudié les caractères somatologiques et psychologiques, les groupes sanguins, la nutrition, l'ethnographie, l'archéologie, la distribution de la population, etc.

Un plan de recherches nouvelles est en préparation. Les parlers créoles des colonies portugaises d'Afrique vont être étudiés dans l'École Supérieure Coloniale à Lisbonne par une jeune philologue qui connaît spécialement ces langages de l'archipel du Cap Vert et de Guinée.

Notes and News

Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale¹

L'OFFICE de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale a été créé à Paris en 1943 sous la forme d'un établissement public doté de la personnalité civile et de l'autonomie financière. Il est chargé d'organiser, de coordonner et d'aider de toutes manières la recherche scientifique dans la France d'Outre-mer. L'organisation centrale de l'office comprend, outre la direction et le secrétariat, un service administratif et financier, un service de l'organisation scientifique et des enseignements, un service des travaux immobiliers, un centre de documentation, trois sections techniques, un bureau d'études humaines et un certain nombre de secrétariats scientifiques et techniques dont le nombre ira croissant au fur et à mesure que seront adoptées de nouvelles disciplines. L'Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale n'a pour but de se superposer à des organismes de recherches lorsqu'ils existent. Son rôle est d'aider et d'animer les organismes existants et de limiter la création d'organisations nouvelles au cas où elles font totalement défaut. Les directives que furent données à l'origine à la Direction de l'Office précisaient que l'activité du nouvel organisme devait être plus particulièrement orientée vers le but concret de servir aussi efficacement que possible le développement économique et social des territoires d'outre-mer.

Le premier objectif de l'Office est de former des chercheurs fortement spécialisés, comme le requiert la science moderne. Il utilise actuellement divers laboratoires existants, mais il est en train de créer deux centres réservés aux chercheurs coloniaux : l'Institut de Bondy, près de Paris, et l'Institut d'Abidjan pour l'application. Des Centres de Recherches sont peu à peu constitués, avec des laboratoires qui permettent aux chercheurs de travailler dans des conditions convenables. Les Centres de Madagascar, de Brazzaville, de Nouméa sont en cours d'installation et ont pu déjà livrer des travaux d'un grand intérêt, notamment des cartes pédologiques de Madagascar.

La génétique animale et végétale (amélioration des espèces cultivées), la pédologie (étude des sols), l'entomologie (lutte contre les parasites) sont des sciences dont le développement présente, pour une économie coloniale rationnelle, l'urgence la plus certaine. Parmi les autres disciplines dont l'Office assure la diffusion et la mise en œuvre figurent l'océanographie (pêche, défense des côtes et des ports, énergie thermique des mers), géophysique (en rapport avec la géologie), hydrologie (régime des eaux, défense contre l'érosion), ethnologie (l'homme étant à la fois l'agent de la mise en valeur et son but).

L'Office de la Recherche Scientifique ne procède qu'aux recherches générales. Les services locaux assurent les investigations de détails et d'application (étude du traitement des sols après l'inventaire pédologique, par exemple). Les services géologique, agricole, zootechnique, forestier ont leurs chercheurs et leurs laboratoires dépendant des gouvernements locaux, l'Office leur apportant son appui en mettant des spécialistes à leur disposition. Les recherches de longue haleine, ainsi que les recherches qu'aucun service local existant n'est normalement outillé pour entreprendre, seront exécutés par des organismes polyvalents, créés par l'Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale et relevant de lui. Ces organismes — un par région importante ou par fédération — seront autant de foyers scientifiques où les chercheurs de toute origine, y compris ceux des services voisins, pourront venir périodiquement se retremper et suivre l'évolution de leur spécialité.

¹ Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale, *Rapport d'activité pour les années 1946-7*, Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer.

L'office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale a subventionné deux missions ethnographiques accomplies par les Professeurs Griaule et Vallois. Le professeur Griaule a poursuivi les recherches entreprises au cours des missions Dakar-Djibouti, Sahara Cameroun, Sahara-Soudan (p. 237). Le docteur Vallois a fait un séjour de trois mois au Cameroun afin d'y étudier les Pygmées. Deux chercheurs, Mlle Chaumeton et M. Bergeaud, sont attachés à l'Institut d'Études Centrafricaines de Brazzaville; Mlle Chaumeton s'est rendue dans la région de Kinkala pour y entreprendre une étude détaillée de la population Balali, en particulière de leur vie familiale et sociale. M. Bergeaud se charge d'établir la carte des gîtes à outillage lithiques dans la région de Brazzaville et la vallée du Niari. L'Office a, d'autre part, mis à la disposition de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire un chargé de recherches, M. Darot, et deux attachés de recherches, MM. Balandier et Mercier. M. Darot est actuellement au Centre du Togo à Lomé où il a assuré la direction du centre. Il a, de plus, poursuivi ses études de linguistique par l'enregistrement de plus de cinquante disques sur le folklore de Zinder et de Niamey. MM. Balandier et Mercier ont effectué, sous la direction de M. Monod, deux enquêtes, l'une sur les pêcheurs Lebou, l'autre sur la poésie et la musique maures. En janvier 1947 M. Balandier s'est rendu à Conakry et M. Mercier à Abomey pour y prendre respectivement la direction des 'Centrifans' de Guinée et du Dahomey; ils ont cependant poursuivi leurs recherches ethnographiques (voir *Africa*, xix. 2, p. 158). Par d'ailleurs, l'Office de la Recherche Scientifique Coloniale continue à aider l'Organisme d'enquête pour l'Étude anthropologique des populations indigènes de l'A.O.F. (voir *Africa*, xviii. 3, p. 222).

La Presse Congolaise

EN ces dernières années, la presse congolaise a pris un développement important qui correspond à la fois à l'accroissement de la population européenne et à l'introduction d'une instruction au moins élémentaire dans les masses indigènes.

Actuellement, on compte au Congo 64 publications pour européens et 58 pour indigènes. Cette division en deux catégories ne peut certes être considérée comme stricte, car beaucoup d'indigènes des centres lisent la presse européenne et certains européens suivent attentivement les périodiques pour indigènes: néanmoins, chacune des deux presses présente des caractères bien spécifiques.

Une énorme majorité des publications pour indigènes (50 sur 58), répondant à un but moral ou évangéliste, est aux mains des missions religieuses: 32 sortent des presses des missions catholiques, 18 de celles des missions protestantes. Parmi les huit autres publications, l'une est un hebdomadaire d'information, une autre est l'organe des syndicats chrétiens, une autre la revue mensuelle qu'une société édite pour son personnel noir, deux sont imprimées par la Force Publique à l'intention des militaires congolais, et enfin trois sont d'inspiration officielle.

La grande majorité des publications pour européens est rédigée en français, tandis que les publications pour indigènes se répartissent en groupes à peu près égaux correspondant aux diverses langues connues des indigènes congolais.

Sur les 64 publications pour européens, 50 sont rédigées en français, une seule en flamand, deux en grec et neuf en anglais. Ajoutons-y deux bulletins de l'administration qui sont obligatoirement imprimés en français et en flamand.

La répartition des publications pour indigènes suit un groupement beaucoup plus régulier: une douzaine d'organes sont imprimés en français, une demi-douzaine dans chacune des grandes langues véhiculaires — lingala, kikongo, tshiluba, kiswahili —, sept en plusieurs langues à la fois et une quinzaine dans divers dialectes locaux.

Une nouvelle publication, *Le Congo Pratique*, journal mensuel publié à Léopoldville, vient de paraître; elle est fondée, dirigée et rédigée par des autochtones dans le but d'éduquer la masse et d'amener ses lecteurs à s'intéresser aux problèmes congolais et à tenter d'y apporter une solution pratique. Le journal est rédigé en français et en kikongo.

ANDRÉ SCOHY, *Congopresse*

Concours littéraire indigène: Bruxelles

EN 1948, pour la première fois, fut organisé à Bruxelles, à l'occasion de la Foire coloniale, un concours littéraire réservé aux ouvrages écrits en français par des indigènes du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi. A ce concours, non moins de vingt manuscrits furent présentés: parmi eux, figurait *Ngando*¹ de Paul Lomami-Tshibamba, qui recueillit les suffrages unanimes du jury.

Avec *Ngando*, nous voyons enfin un écrivain congolais de langue française en possession de ses moyens et faisant œuvre originale. *Ngando* est un conte fantastique, une histoire d'occultisme africain où entrent dans une lutte farouche les forces du mal commandées par une vieille sorcière et les forces antagonistes maniées par un féticheur bénéfique.

La principale qualité du livre de Lomami-Tshibamba est d'avoir réussi à nous donner l'accès au monde magique dans lequel vivent et croient les Bantous. Ainsi, il a dépassé l'intérêt limité d'une histoire locale et, sans peut-être l'avoir voulu, il nous a donné une œuvre qui prend une portée universelle en se rattachant aux rythmes les plus anciens. Le livre de cet homme qui, atteint de surdité — il nous l'apprend lui-même dans la préface — mène une vie retirée et méditative, échappe par là à l'écueil du régionalisme, et, ouvrant la voie à la jeune littérature congolaise, il prend, au même titre que la légende de Mélusine ou le Récit du Graal, une valeur de permanence dans le domaine de l'humain.

ANDRÉ SCOHY, *Congopresse*, no. 35

*Commonwealth Handbook*²

THE Royal Empire Society, London, has produced a pamphlet giving in a concise and readily accessible form information on all the official departments and independent societies and organizations in the United Kingdom concerned with British Dominion and Colonial territories. The items included are classified under Information and Publicity, Social Activities and Hospitality, Welfare, Emigration, Trade, Industry and Commerce, Agriculture and Forestry. The organizations concerned are divided into Departments of Government, Universities and Special Institutions, Empire and other societies. A list of specialist journals published in Great Britain is included.

Literacy Campaign in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

A LITERACY campaign is planned for Dueim on the White Nile, under the direction of a committee consisting of members of the Education Committee, Sheikh Mahgoub Abesher (Literacy Officer) and six others. Dueim town has been divided into six areas, in each of which a group will be formed to act as literacy unit for the area, the secretary of each group being a member of the committee. Volunteers who can read and write and are prepared to teach will be enlisted in each area, and will be shown the 'each one teach one' method and the use of the First Primer. A temporary shop for the sale of literary material and to serve as an information bureau and display centre will be opened.

¹ *Ngando*, par Paul Lomami-Tshibamba. Éditions Deny, 1946, avenue Carton de Wiart. Bruxelles. 1949. 117 pages. 70 frs. belges.

² *Commonwealth Handbook*, Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, 1949. Pp. 56. 1s. 6d.

Study Abroad¹

AN international handbook published by U.N.E.S.C.O. gives full information on all available opportunities for trans-national study, including scholarships, fellowships, and international training programmes.

Lists of fellowships and scholarships are given, with details of subjects, locality, conditions of tenure, &c., together with an index of fields of study and beneficiary countries. An introductory chapter describes the development of international fellowship and travel study programmes, with notes on the programmes initiated by various member states of U.N.E.S.C.O. and by other agencies.

Lugard Memorial Lecture

THE Executive Council of the Institute, at its meeting in Paris, resolved to invite Miss Margery Perham, Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, and member of the Executive Council, to give the Lugard Memorial Lecture in 1950.

Miss Perham has accepted the invitation, and has suggested as the subject of her lecture some aspects of the life and work of Lord Lugard. The lecture will probably be given at the meeting of the Institute's Executive Council in 1950.

Current and prospective field researches in Nigeria

MR. and Mrs. D. P. L. Dry, of Oxford University, awarded a Horniman Field Studentship by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, are engaged in an intensive study of the social organization of a series of Hausa communities in the Zaria Province, including Soba.

Mr. M. G. Smith, of University College, London, has been awarded a Colonial Office Studentship for socio-economic studies in Zaria Province, and will make a comparative study of social and economic organization and levels of economic development in both Hausa and 'pagan' areas. Mr. Smith is proceeding to the field in May for a period of eighteen months.

Mr. W. B. Schwab, of the University of Pennsylvania, is undertaking a preparatory period of study at University College, London, before proceeding to Nigeria to undertake a study of social and economic conditions in an urban community among the Yoruba.

Mr. D. P. M. Morton-Williams, of University College, London, has been awarded a Horniman Studentship for a field study of Yoruba social organization and will proceed to Nigeria in 1950 after a period of preparatory training.

A Nutritional Survey of the Republic of Liberia

DR. Flemmie P. Kittrell of Howard University, Washington, D.C., visited the Republic of Liberia between December 1946 and June 1947 to undertake a survey of native diet and nutrition. Her report, entitled *A Preliminary Food and Nutrition Survey of Liberia, West Africa*, has recently become available. The data on which the report is based include an examination of the dry-season diet of about 4,500 individuals from various parts of the Republic, supplemented by clinical information from the laboratory of the Firestone Plantations Company, its hospitals at Harbel and Cape Palmas, from the Samuel Grimes Maternal and Child Welfare Centre at Kakata, and the Ganta Health Mission at Ganta. The 1945 revision of the National Research Council's Nutrition Yardstick was used to assess the adequacy of diets.

Although Liberians use a wide variety of foods, at certain seasons the number of foods

¹ *Study Abroad*, International Handbook, vol. i. U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris, 1948. U.N.E.S.C.O. publication 234.

consumed is very limited. 'The staple foods for Liberian people in general are rice, cassava, eddoes, palm oil, yams, potatoes, various vegetable greens, and occasionally fish. Rice and cassava are the two foods available to nearly everyone.'

The total calorie content of the energy-giving foods consumed is very small, the daily average for men being 1,400 and for women 1,350. The proportion of fat is usually about 25 per cent. Protein intake is low and almost entirely of vegetable origin. Reports from Harbel Hospital show further that about 90 per cent. of the natives are infected with hookworm and over 50 per cent. with roundworm. These parasites rob the body of much of the protein consumed, thus aggravating the deficiency.

Calcium intake is low for all age-groups, the average for men and women being 0.3 grammes daily and 0.25 grammes for children. The Liberians habitually use many condiments and spices, such as chillies, ginger-roots, peppers, mace, mustard seed, nutmeg, and garlic, all containing calcium and iron. These condiments might be nutritionally significant over a long period, as also the customary lavish use of fish-bones in the preparation of soups. The agriculturalists of the U.S. Economic Mission maintain that the soil in Liberia is calcium-poor. This factor contributes largely to the general deficiency. Surprisingly, the teeth of almost all natives of all age-groups are well shaped and free from decay. Clinical records show that mission school-children do not have as good teeth as children not in school.

Iron intake is seriously deficient, the average for men being only 4 milligrammes and for women 6 milligrammes. Red blood counts are consistently low, and the incidence of anaemia is high. Again, malaria, roundworm, and hookworm aggravate the position.

There is inadequate intake of vitamins A, thiamin, riboflavin, and niacin. Vitamin A deficiency exists in more than 90 per cent. of the diets studied. Firestone Hospital records show increasing incidence of tuberculosis and respiratory diseases, a tendency probably general throughout the Republic. Foods rich in vitamin A are abundant but are rarely used in sufficient quantities to satisfy requirements. The people of the hinterland get enough ascorbic acid, although local cooking methods tend to destroy much of this vitamin. Owing to constant exposure of the body to the sun vitamin D deficiencies are not apparent.

Dr. Kittrell concludes that Liberia 'does not produce enough food for its people at the present time'. Ninety per cent. of the people live on diets below the safety-line. Two-thirds are not getting one-half enough calories, while, owing to the general lack of protective foods, any major epidemic would have disastrous results. Few people now have an optimum diet. Even the diets of the privileged Americo-Liberian ruling class are nutritionally inadequate.

Dr. Kittrell's 'immediate action points' include the following: the Liberian Bureau of Agriculture and the United States Economic Mission are advised to take immediate steps to produce more food, especially rice, palm-oil, legumes, and animal protein. Fishing should be encouraged and processing and storage depots established so that fish foods may become generally available, thus breaking the present dependence on high-priced imported fish. All mission schools should have a nutritionist on their staffs and a nutrition section should be added to the U.S. Public Health Mission. The Mission should initiate the further research that will be needed. As 'long-time goals' the following measures are advocated: a vast expansion of educational provision for children and for adults is the vital need for Liberia. Agriculture and nutrition should be included in all courses and efforts made at the college level to ensure a steady flow of teachers qualified in these subjects. Scholarships should be made available for advanced study in the U.S.A. and other countries. The Liberian Bureau of Agriculture should be enlarged and should undertake nutrition teaching and research. Additional health clinics, similar to the one at Kakata, should be established.

Throughout her report Dr. Kittrell stresses the essentially preliminary character of her findings and emphasizes the need for further research.

(Communicated by H. G. A. HUGHES)

Reviews of Books

Traité élémentaire de Droit Coutumier du Congo Belge. Par A. SOHIER. Bruxelles: Maison Ferdinand Larcier, 1949. Pp. 221. 230 frs.

THE recognition of indigenous customary law has long been an accepted principle in the administration of the Belgian Congo, and is expressly embodied in the *Charte Coloniale* of 1908. The practical implications of this principle have been followed out, particularly during the last decade or two, by methods of systematic study which are probably in advance of anything hitherto attempted in other tropical African territories. Thus the sources for the study of native law in the Belgian Congo include not only works based on anthropological research, but the two series of *Bulletins des Juridictions Indigènes* published at Élisabethville and Astrida, which contain, *inter alia*, reports of many decided cases. There are, moreover, already in existence a few treatises and monographs representing the legal point of view, for example, M. Possoz, *Éléments de Droit coutumier nègre* (1944), and a previous work by M. Sohier himself, entitled *Le Mariage en Droit coutumier congolais* (1943).

The material, however, though growing year by year, is not yet sufficient, in M. Sohier's opinion, for the preparation of a detailed text-book of the customary law of the Belgian Congo as a whole. He regards the present work simply as 'un début de coordination', an outline survey of a wide field, designed to supplement the existing literature and to facilitate the understanding of more specialized works on particular tribes or branches of the law. This modest purpose has been ably accomplished; and M. Sohier's book will be of value, not only to those working in the Belgian Congo, but to all who are concerned with the advancement of the study of African law.

Perhaps its main interest lies in the fact that it illustrates the extent to which it is possible to formulate common principles, valid for a multiplicity of tribal groups. Almost every variety of African political system and social organization (including both patrilineal and matrilineal descent) seems to be represented in the Belgian Congo. M. Sohier approaches his task, however, in the belief that this diversity is not so fundamental as to preclude a unified treatment of the indigenous law of this region. As to how far his confidence is justified, opinions will no doubt differ. The critical reader may point to the frequency of generalizations about 'le noir' and to the somewhat sketchy handling of land tenure and succession as evidence of vagueness and superficiality; and this impression is liable to be heightened by the paucity of documentation. But in fairness it must be remembered that these weaknesses are apt to occur even in specialized studies of individual tribes and may well be attributable in part to the inadequacy of our present knowledge, and also to some extent to the rudimentary character of the law itself. In the study of native law, M. Sohier points out, we are still at a stage at which one of the main problems is to disentangle from the totality of custom that which can properly be described as law.

The branch of African Law which seems to lend itself most readily to the formulation of legal rules is that of marriage and divorce; and the chapters which M. Sohier devotes to these topics (amounting to a quarter of the whole book) are marked by a noticeably greater fullness and precision. In addition, they afford the best illustration of the logical method which the author employs in fashioning the raw material of native custom into the shape of dogmatic legal rules and propositions. Thus, in dealing with betrothal, he points out that Africans do not always explicitly differentiate between betrothal and actual marriage; there is nevertheless, he asserts, a clear distinction, implied in the indigenous law, and he propounds the following criterion: the distinguishing mark of betrothal is that each party is

free at any time to withdraw from the engagement without assigning any reason, whereas, once a marriage has been contracted, the union can only be dissolved by death or by divorce on some specific ground. Furthermore, there are, according to M. Sohier's analysis, two main constituent elements in a valid marriage, viz.: an *alliance* between the two families, commonly signified by the passing of bride-price, and a *conjugal union* between the two individuals, invariably marked by a ceremony at which they signify, usually by some symbolic act, their voluntary acceptance of each other as husband and wife. There is thus a precise identifiable moment at which the period of betrothal ends and the marriage begins.

Proceeding on these lines, M. Sohier achieves an admirably clear and orderly presentation of his material. Indeed, the very clarity and symmetry of his exposition prompts some slight doubts as to the objectivity of his judgement. Moreover, it is difficult to avoid the feeling here and there that he has a case to argue, and that, influenced by the laudable object of guiding the development of native law into closer conformity with civilized standards, he tends to be selective in his emphasis, magnifying whatever is open to favourable interpretation and dismissing what is unworthy as 'une déformation du vrai sens du droit indigène'. Thus, in reference to the validity, under native law, of a contract of monogamy, he asserts that African society recognizes monogamy as a superior state. Polyandry, on the other hand, is represented as contrary to native law, even in those societies in which it is an accepted practice. There are also indications of a parallel tendency, namely, the tendency to vindicate certain practices which have usually been condemned in the past, or at any rate to interpret them sympathetically and minimize their harmfulness. This tendency shows itself in the author's treatment of the institutions of the sororate and the levirate, which are explained in terms of the grafting of a new conjugal union on to the existing alliance; in his emphasis on the obligation of a husband who contemplates taking a second wife to obtain the prior consent of his first wife ('une garantie précieuse' for the latter, M. Sohier claims); and in the passage where, perhaps somewhat apologetically, he explains that even the custom of demanding girls by way of tribute had its redeeming features, for they were considered as being in a sense the permanent ambassadors of the vassal community at the sovereign's court!

Not only where he thus tends to idealize native law, but also where (as in the case of the levirate) he seeks to rationalize it, M. Sohier's argument may sometimes appear a little strained; yet we cannot but be grateful for his sympathetic handling of his subject and for his obvious desire to draw out and foster what is best in African tradition and usage. His consciousness of dealing with an organic and rapidly developing system is apparent throughout the book. Each of the main subject-headings includes a section entitled *Évolution du Droit*, in which the development of the indigenous law and its administration at the present day are examined and discussed.

In the arrangement of his material M. Sohier does not hesitate to apply the orthodox categories of western jurisprudence—which, indeed, he regards as implicit in the indigenous law itself. At the same time, he is far from being hide-bound by a rigid professionalism, and he shows a full appreciation of the sociological aspects of his subject.

The tolerance of his attitude towards African customs is seen in the lenient interpretation which, following Professor Solus, he places on the statutory requirement that native law shall only be applied in so far as it is not contrary to 'l'ordre public'.

Moreover, to anyone who is accustomed to regard the English legal system as the main formative influence in the development of African judicial institutions and as the criterion by which to judge their progress, it is interesting and highly instructive to observe the difference of approach in certain respects of a continental lawyer. The most obvious example of this difference of approach is in regard to procedure, especially criminal procedure. M. Sohier's account of African modes of judicial investigation (e.g. the preliminary

ex parte examination of witnesses, without confrontation or cross-examination by the opposite party) makes one wonder whether English lawyers, who are usually, in their insularity, lacking in understanding of the so-called 'inquisitorial' method of procedure, are not inclined to over-hasty condemnation of indigenous methods where they differ from those of English courts.

More striking, however, than any such divergence of outlook is the close correspondence of this picture of the native legal system of the Belgian Congo with that which is familiar to students of other parts of Africa. This book will be of value, therefore, for purposes of co-ordinated study in the wider field of African law in general.

ARTHUR PHILLIPS

Adat Law in Indonesia. By B. TER HAAR. Translated from the Dutch. Edited with an Introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller. Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1949. Pp. xiv+255. Price \$4.00.

NOTWITHSTANDING that it deals with a distant part of another continent, this book demands the serious attention of all who are interested in the progress of African legal studies. The reasons are, firstly, that it discloses a striking degree of similarity between the native customary law of Indonesia and that of tribal Africa, and secondly, that it demonstrates, for those who are still unconvinced, the possibility of making such a body of law the subject of systematic study at the academic level.

As the fruit of studies and researches which have been diligently pursued during the last half-century and which are particularly associated with the name of van Vollenhoven, there is a wealth of literature dealing with the 'adat' law of Indonesia—most of it in the Dutch language, but with a sprinkling of vernacular publications. The present volume, an English translation of a work published just before the war, opens up this accumulated knowledge to a much wider circle of readers.

The object of the late Professor ter Haar in writing this book was to provide beginners—in particular, students in the Law School of the University of Batavia—with a concise introduction to the study of adat law. This entailed condensation and co-ordination of a mass of detailed material derived from the nineteen 'adat law areas' of the archipelago—a background hardly less complex and variegated than the panorama of Africa itself.

Quotation of a few sentences, taken almost at random from the chapter on Marriage Law, may serve to illustrate how much there is in common between the subject-matter of Indonesian adat law and that of African customary law:

'Adat law marriages are always drawn-out affairs, so that it is impossible to state at just what point marriage as such begins.'

'Throughout the Archipelago an exchange of presents is apparently a universal feature of marriage . . . The exchange of gifts is of secondary importance in matrilineally organized societies.'

'Bride-price involves payments from the man's family to the girl's with the object of incorporating her into the husband's sub-clan, and her children too.'

' . . . marriage with postponed payment, coupled with suitor service. In this type of marriage, man and wife cohabit, and the husband works for his wife's family until the bride-price is satisfied.'

'A marriage in which a man takes the widow of his deceased "brother" (clan member), called substitution marriage, or a woman replaces her dead sister, the so-called continuation marriage, is close to bride-price marriage. In neither of these is a new bride-price paid.'

'The bride-price frequently consists of things of mystic value . . . The economic

valuation of the goods paid in bride-price gives it a disagreeable character, since it imparts a commercial quality to the marriage.'

'The attempts of the Dutch government, based on erroneous ideas, to forbid bride-price, and omission of it from the colonial legal systems, have failed to drive it from the legal life of the villages, or the upper classes.'

'The requirement of a refund, if the marriage breaks up, lends great strength to the marital bond.'

No less interesting, for comparative purposes, is that part of the book which deals with land rights; and the treatment of this subject is marked by the use of a special terminology, originally introduced by van Vollenhoven as a remedy for the confusion caused by the adoption of terms carrying a European legal connotation.

The picture which emerges is that of a living system of indigenous law, firmly rooted and hitherto maintaining its vitality in face of opposing influences—Islam, Christianity, oriental and western civilizations, and (until 1927) a discouraging trend of official policy.

A lengthy introduction by the two American editors supplies much valuable information regarding such matters as the constitutional basis of adat law, the limits of its application, and the system of courts by which it is administered.

ARTHUR PHILLIPS

Bantu Prophets in South Africa. By BENGT G. M. SUNDKLER. London: Lutterworth Press, 1948. Pp. 344, illus. 30s.

THIS is an interesting and important book. The number of African Separatist Churches in the Union has long been known, since the Government of South Africa requires the leaders of such Churches to register them. The vitality and variety of these 800 or so nativistic sects have also caused anxiety to the missionary bodies of South Africa and to the administration. Dr. Sundkler is, however, the first to subject the whole phenomenon of the splinter Church to scientific study. As a missionary working in Zululand from 1937 to 1942, he became interested in the problem of the independent Zulu Churches which he met wherever he went. Later he determined to make a definite study of the whole problem. He examined the Government records of the history and growth of these Churches at Pretoria; he attended meetings and talked to leaders; he preached at their Churches, and he spent six months of special study at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1945. The present book is the result of ten years of such direct observation and discussion.

The most valuable sections of the book are the chapters on the sociology of these sects and their ritual practices. They are written vividly and with sympathy, but at the same time with an evident appreciation of the principles of sociological analysis. Dr. Sundkler splits the Zulu sects into two types, the 'Ethiopian', which are splinter groups that have broken away from Protestant Churches and which conform largely to the pattern of Protestant ritual; and the 'Zionist' sects, which show American influence and which practise healing, believe in the gift of tongues, revelation by dreams and trances, and ritual washing of sins and other forms of purification.

Dr. Sundkler believes that the structure of the old Zulu society and its patterns of authority are very clearly seen in the leadership of these Churches. One type of leader corresponds most closely to the Zulu chief who is supposed to be 'fat, bulky, and brave, but not talkative'. These leaders are admired for their courage in opposing Europeans and they often include young intellectuals as well as illiterate 'Bishops'. The second, or prophet, type of leader corresponds more nearly to the Zulu stereotype of the Diviner (*Isangoma*), the thin, nervous man who speaks prophetic utterances, heals, and dreams. Sundkler adopts Malinowski's method of analysing culture change and produces a synoptic

chart which shows the relation between old Zulu beliefs and social structure, the policy and structure of Christian missions, and the final results in the form of Christian ritual and theology with what he calls 'a Zulu imprint'. This is an hypothesis which needs considerable work. As Sundkler says: 'It is quite possible that a comparative study would reveal, much more consistently than has ever been attempted in this book, a morphological correspondence between the pattern of a tribal character and the type or types of Christianised prophetic movement which it tends to produce.'

Dr. Sundkler gives an interesting description of the process of fission of these native Churches. African sects split off from the original Church of European origin for a variety of reasons, but once the new sect has been shaped it is itself subject to a process of further fission into still newer sects. Dr. Sundkler gives an interesting diagram of the genealogy of such nativistic sects since 1896. The social process is, in each case, similar—the appearance of a leader with a nucleus of followers; the adoption of mechanisms of identification such as uniforms, special rules, taboos and laws, and finally the split off into new groups.

The author indicates a number of the causes of this process of fission and he hints at others. It is difficult to be certain whether such movements are mainly due to lack of opportunity for leadership for the African in other spheres of life; friction with European leaders of the parent Church; the desire for money, which the leader often collects from his followers; the number of European Christian sects in South Africa which gives the African a pattern of separatism from the start; or the unstable personalities which are often the result of a changing situation and changing values. It would be interesting to have some kind of statistical analysis in terms of life histories of a number of leaders of these sects and Dr. Sundkler's work paves the way for such a study.

The book is written with unusual objectivity and Dr. Sundkler frankly faces up to the fact that the segmentation of the African Churches is in some measure due to the policy of the European missionaries themselves. He also writes with sympathy and understanding, and a number of his letters from Pastors of Separatist sects have a ring of pathos, as do the accounts of sermons and ritual in small corrugated iron tabernacles all over the Rand. As the author says: 'The list of the names of the 800 independent Bantu Churches appears to the European as merely fanciful and funny. To the people concerned this is not so.'

A. I. RICHARDS

Bibliografia di studi africani della missione dell' Africa Centrale. By P. STEFANÓ SANTANDREA, F.S.C.J. Verona: Istituto Missioni Africane, 1948. Pp. xxviii+167, map. L. 1,000.

THIS is the first volume in a series of books on Central Africa to be published by the Verona Fathers. The second volume in the series is Father Nebel's *Dinka Grammar*, a most important contribution to our knowledge of the languages of Equatorial Africa. These two volumes increase our debt to the Verona Fathers. To show that we already owe them much it is only necessary to cite a few names: Spagnolo, Crazzolaro, Kohnen, Muratori, Hofmayr, Molinaro, Negri, and Santandrea himself.

The volume under review is a bibliography of writings by Catholic missionaries on the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda during the last hundred years. It is full and well arranged under general subject headings and under tribal headings. The bibliography is of great value to all students of the regions it covers, for it not only lists all the articles which have appeared in ethnological and geographical journals but also those which have been published in such missionary journals as *Nigrizia* and *Stern der Neger* and are likely to have escaped even the most diligent student. It includes also articles in missionary journals published in Africa by the local missions and unpublished manuscripts. Father Santandrea is to be congratulated on a thorough and most useful piece of work.

The book has a further interest in that it is a record and commemoration of a century of missionary endeavour. Since the arrival in the Sudan of Father Daniele Comboni the Catholic missionaries there and in Uganda have toiled unceasingly and against every kind of difficulty, hardship, and suffering. They saw all their labours undone by the Mahdist insurrection. They began them all over again. The lists of books and articles about the history and ethnology of the Sudan and Uganda tell us also the heroic story of those who wrote them.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

Manuel scientifique de l'Afrique noire. Par D.-P. DE PEDRALS. Paris: Payot, 1948. Pp. 202, cartes, gravures. 540 frs.

M. D.-P. DE PEDRALS a condensé en deux cents pages un manuel général de l'Afrique noire donnant un aperçu anthropologique, préhistorique, archéologique, culturel, institutionnel, historique d'une des régions les plus compliquées de la planète. Il ne pouvait réussir qu'en ne perdant aucune page, en donnant le dernier état des diverses questions traitées et en restreignant le sujet à l'Afrique noire. L'auteur a préféré faire état de théories aujourd'hui dépassées (Frobénius, Montandon); il a d'autre part inclus dans son sujet l'Éthiopie qui pouvait être traitée ailleurs.

Concernant ce dernier pays, il eût été aussi intéressant d'en connaître la structure que l'histoire dans laquelle n'apparaît pas le titre classique de Roi des Rois (peut-être confondu avec celui de Ras des Ras?). Il est regrettable également que le mot 'abyssin' soit expliqué par une étymologie populaire depuis longtemps abandonnée et non par celle que propose entre autres *l'Encyclopédie Italienne* (L'Etiofia, 1935). Aucune mention n'est faite des travaux archéologiques d'Azaïs et Chambard non plus que de l'Expédition Allemande d'Aksoum.

Mais si l'Éthiopie, qui, à notre avis, est hors du sujet, tient une grande place dans la partie historique, elle n'apparaît pas dans les chapitres consacrés aux cultures et aux arts.

Ces chapitres par ailleurs sont curieusement composés. Aux cultures sont attribuées douze pages dans lesquelles n'apparaît presque rien des religions ni des philosophies noires, ce qui suffirait pour condamner définitivement ce livre. Au contraire, quarante-deux pages sont consacrées aux Arts dont l'énorme substrat symbolique est inconnu de l'auteur. Les 32 lignes qu'il réserve à un paragraphe intitulé 'symboles' ne sauraient être prises au sérieux. L'auteur ignore, de toute évidence, les travaux récents des ethnographes français et belges.

Enfin, à ne lire que deux des bibliographies données dans ce volume, on s'aperçoit que moins de six pour cent des ouvrages cités sont postérieurs à 1940. Il semble que ces considérations numériques permettent de se faire une idée de la valeur du travail de M. de Pedrals.

M. GRIAULE

Dictionary of the Hausa Language. By MAJOR R. C. ABRAHAM, M.A., and MALAM MAI KANO. Crown Agents for the Colonies, for Nigerian Government. 1949. Pp. xxvii, 992.

SINCE the days when the first investigators tried to reduce Hausa to a written language about a hundred years have elapsed. It is useful to remember that it has taken this length of time to arrive at the present stage in the study of a language which has always had a great practical importance and to which, therefore, more attention has been given than to any other Nigerian language. This highly interesting language, considered by many to be an 'easy' African language, has proved to be full of difficulties which could only be tackled by methods embodying the most careful attention to the tonal structure of the language. Once this

method had been applied, grammatical and lexicographical studies developed in quite a different way from before, assuming greater depth.

Two names are for ever linked with this change in the investigation of Hausa: the one is that of the Rev. Dr. Bargery and the other that of the author of the present book. Major Abraham, the well-known linguist, author of two recent publications on Hausa and many other books on African languages, has produced a wonderfully concise Hausa-English Dictionary of nearly 1,000 pages, the 'outcome of twenty-three years devoted to the study of Hausa'. For the compilation of the present book the author had at his disposal all the recent publications in Hausa including the excellent newspaper *Gaskiya*, which did not exist when Dr. Bargery's dictionary was published. On the other hand, Major Abraham has found it necessary to exclude a number of expressions included by Dr. Bargery which seem not to be in general use.

Major Abraham's notable experience in the field of Hausa language study makes it difficult for anyone occupied with West African linguistics to express a definite judgement about the vast mass of material he has brought together, and it would be out of place here to try to find single faults in this book. It would take many months for an attentive reader to go through the book and try out its application to the existing literature. But the present writer can say, after a study of several weeks, that the book has proved to be of the greatest help for a student wishing to analyse texts of any kind. The tone-marking is very reliable, the method adopted being that of the author's last publications, viz. high tones are left unmarked throughout, low tones indicated by a line below the sound. Mid-tones are not indicated as they are in Dr. Bargery's dictionary, but I think Major Abraham is justified in not indicating them, for they are of no basic importance in Hausa, as they are, for example, in Yoruba and Tiv. As a whole the tone-marking is very satisfactory; less satisfactory is the indication of the falling tone by a descending arrow on a line below, as this is not easily perceptible. Of the two possible methods of marking vowel-length the author has adhered to the traditional usage of marking vowel-length by a line above, and this too is to be recommended, as it prevents the shape of the word becoming too long by vowel-doubling, which would be liable to occur in Hausa where length is so often used.

One of the greatest advantages of the book lies in the innumerable sentence-examples given for most of the words. Every shade of meaning has been taken into account and illustrated in its context. This method, which Dr. Bargery used with excellent results, is greatly to be welcomed and gives the student a collection of exercise-sentences which he can put together himself in a special arrangement according to grammatical topics. Indeed, these sentences are so numerous that they alone would compose a grammar, more complete than the existing ones. Another point of importance is that we find the usual proper names, as well as geographical terms, in their correct spelling. A large botanical and zoological dictionary has been included.

It was an extremely difficult task for the author to find a method of arranging the different meanings and still more the shades of a word. For a definite arrangement a previous full analysis of Hausa grammar is necessary and we know that this has not yet been done. If one looks at such common words as the preposition *da* or the adverb *sai*, one is faced by a tremendous task in organizing the examples, and we shall of course have to consider the question from the standpoint of Hausa first, if we are able to do so, and not of that of any European language. In the case of *sai*, for example, we have to find an answer to the following questions: are there several different words *sai*, having or having acquired a common pronunciation, or have all the different meanings of this word a common origin? And what is then the basic meaning of the various words *sai*? As long as these questions have not been satisfactorily answered, a definite order in a dictionary is impossible. One has the impression that Major Abraham has acquitted himself of this task with great skill

and with an instinct for the spirit of the language. Later investigators will certainly have to cover a vast field in order to get this problem of basic meaning settled. There is another point which I recommend to further special investigation—the problem of Arabic loan-words in the language. This problem can only be solved in co-operation with Arabic scholars.

Malam Mai Kano, born in Kano, former collaborator with Dr. Bargery and officially employed by the Kano Native Administration, has given valuable assistance in the compilation of the book.

I think that we may corroborate the author's praise of the typographical quality of the book, which has helped to make it not only a great contribution to the science of African languages but also a pleasure to read and handle.

JOHANNES LUKAS

The Kabyle People. By GLORA M. WYSNER. U.S.A., privately printed, 1945. Pp. 223.

L'ŒUVRE que Mme Glora M. Wysner présente pour le doctorat de philosophie de la Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Connecticut, est intitulée 'The Kabyle People'. C'est une bonne compilation des diverses publications parues sur le sujet, présentée avec clarté, sous une forme facile à lire et à consulter, en un mot un excellent ouvrage de vulgarisation que n'importe quel touriste peut lire avec plaisir et avec fruit, et qui, à ce titre, est appelé à rendre de réels services.

Mme Glora M. Wysner divise son ouvrage en cinq grands chapitres : un premier chapitre (geographical and historical background of the Kabyles) où elle s'étend surtout, le plus clairement possible, et presque trop impartialement, sur les diverses hypothèses faites à propos des origines berbères — hypothèses de trop inégales valeurs peut-être pour mériter ce traitement. Par contre dans les chapitres suivants où elle étudie successivement la vie sociale, la vie politique, la vie économique et la vie religieuse des berbères, on devine, à travers le choix de ses citations, par les proportions qu'elle accorde à tel ou tel ordre de fait, une bonne expérience personnelle et directe du peuple kabyle, un jugement juste et bienveillant qui s'abritent tous deux beaucoup trop modestement derrière les auteurs qu'elle cite.

Nous regrettons cette trop grande réserve, cette trop grande modestie de l'auteur qui nous privent des résultats de son expérience, car c'est un fait que sur ce petit peuple kabyle, si original et homogène, et qui vit aux portes de notre civilisation, le seul ouvrage d'ensemble que nous possédions reste et demeure l'œuvre véritablement monumentale de Hanoteau et Letourneux, éditée il y a plus de cinquante ans (1893) d'après une documentation recueillie par les auteurs entre 1854 et 1868, c'est-à-dire il y a 80 à 90 ans. Or, à travers une masse de faits de civilisation assez voyants et qui semblent inébranlables (sans doute plus qu'ils ne le sont) ce petit peuple s'adapte à sa façon aux conditions de la vie mondiale moderne—adaptation dont il nous fournit la preuve par un accroissement régulier de sa population.

L'émigration saisonnière en France (dont Mme G. M. Wysner nous dit elle-même qu'elle a porté en 1928 sur 120.000 individus) a fait affluer l'argent dans les vieilles forteresses, par grandes vagues correspondant aux vagues économiques mondiales.

On sait que les divisions traditionnelles des villages kabyles sont basées sur des voisinages quasi immémoriaux à caractère familial. Leur importance est énorme car ils sont des unités politiques, économiques, affectives, la source de l'honneur, de la justice privée, et c'est en eux que l'individu puise la valeur qu'il a à ses propres yeux. Or l'afflux de l'argent multiplie les ventes et les achats de terrain et influe aussi sur l'accroissement de la population — accroissement qui pousse lui-même aux morcellements des terrains. En outre assez longtemps la politique de la France a été de favoriser les ventes et les achats pour que la terre aille aux plus travailleurs, aux plus dignes. Et les contacts avec l'Europe (école primaire, service militaire, travail en usine) font paraître aux intéressés eux-mêmes très pesantes les contraintes qu'engendre l'indivision. Pour toutes ces causes les vieilles divisions traditionnelles cra-

quent lentement dans l'ombre de notre ignorance. Parfois une statistique officielle (sur les transactions immobilières, sur les mandats reçus dans tel bureau de poste, sur les banques régionales, sur les affaires civiles et criminelles qui passent devant nos bureaux) nous éclairent indirectement ces grands mouvements silencieux. Mais comme nous aimerions avoir des lumières plus directes, connaître d'une façon plus intime les conflits des générations! . . . Il ne faut pas oublier que les premiers petits Kabyles qui ont fréquenté l'école primaire française sont déjà grand'pères. J'ai connu personnellement de nombreux instituteurs kabyles qui élevaient leurs filles à l'européenne, des docteurs mariés à des européennes mais qui, les uns et les autres, gardaient des contacts effectifs avec tous leurs parents et qui n'étaient nullement des 'exclus' de leur ancien milieu, mais tout au contraire le 'gars' qui a réussi et qui donne la main à ses cousins pour en faire autant.

Il ne faut pas croire pour cela que les vieilles coutumes disparaissent. Elles sont là, puissantes . . . mais les nouvelles opinions sont là aussi, et, fait plus grave, à notre insu, à l'insu des intéressés eux-mêmes, contre leur volonté, contre la volonté des pouvoirs publics français, de grands glissements collectifs se produisent: effondrement d'un système économique qu'un autre remplace; dislocation consécutive des cadres politiques ancestraux, les territoriaux d'abord puis les moraux, — car il n'y a pas d'âme sociale sans corps social. Et dans ces grands mouvements peu perceptibles l'individu s'effondre un peu, ou s'affranchit un peu. En tous cas il change. . . .

G. TILLION

A Practical Approach to Chinyanja; with English-Nyanja Vocabulary. By T. D. THOMSON. Salisbury: Bantu Mirror Ltd., for Nyasaland Govt., 1947. Pp. 63. 2s. 9d.

It is always a pleasure to come across a book which does exactly what it professes to do. It is not only the 'planter, missionary, civil servant, business man or housewife' who will find a practical approach here to another people's language but I would certainly add to the list of Mr. Thomson's beneficiaries the Nyanja-speaking people themselves. Actually, of course, this means something vastly bigger than merely those in what we know as the 'Nyanja-speaking area' since this is the language of a people scattered over a very large south-east-central African area, the aMaravi, who to-day live under at least six different names according to the area in which Europeans found them in the closing decades of last century. And they were more or less on the same ground at least 300 years earlier since Portuguese records give some of them the same names as they bear to-day. The aMaravi—with probably the aTumbuka in Northern Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia—are by lineage the aristocrats of this part of Africa. Which makes it all the more of a shock (if one *must* criticize where there is so much to praise) to find Thomson (p. 2) telling his readers that 'Chinyanja (the language of the Lake) belongs to the same great family of Bantu languages as kiSwahili and . . .'. That is like comparing, say, Macdonald of the Isles with the progeny of a Clydeside Scot-Irish marriage; but now that the enormity is in print what can one do about it!

It is also a surprise—to this reviewer at any rate—to find that while 'c' has the sound of CH in Church, CH with the same sound is only found in proper names, for example, Chinyanja, Chinteché, Chikumbu'. Neither the logic nor the linguistic expediency behind such a rule is discoverable and Nyasaland must be the only Bantu area, in which recent orthographical work has been done, where this extraordinary decision has been reached. The Chewa and Chipeta sections of the Maravi people become Cewa and Cipeta respectively, with their speech ciCewa and ciCipeta, surely. Any other procedure would seem to be absurd.

But, these points apart, this is indeed a practical approach to the language and one is not surprised to hear that the method followed was successfully used in East Africa for the

benefit of non-Swahili-speaking recruits and is therefore now applied to the study of Nyanja. It is a delightfully sure-footed approach. Step by step, with Noun, Pronoun, and Adjective looked at first with a view to speedy recognition of the 'concord' principle, but with the student unconsciously finding himself in touch with simple verb usage, just at the moment when the need for it is felt. Then on, step by step, with growing vocabulary and little sentences all of conversational value, with a new verb-tense slipped in here and there among further noun-classes, numerals, and so on; positive and negative statement slipping into a place in the structure; up to the point at which, in the author's view, the really introductory approach is complete and he outlines (p. 38) something of what still lies ahead. A thoroughly effective and original bit of work.

Mr. Thomson has not been too well served by the Government Printer in choice of type and in occasional crowded setting, e.g. p. 2, where in the last three words of the little list at centre page one may be excused for doubting whether the second letter is lower-case 'l' or upper-case 'I'. But too much criticism would be very ungracious. The next edition will put much right. Nyasalanders, black and white, are very fortunate in having this book.

CULLEN YOUNG

Les Recherches Linguistiques au Congo Belge. Par G. VAN BULCK, S.J. Mémoires de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge, tome XVI. Bruxelles, 1948. Pp. 767, carte. 350 frs.

NEARLY a century has elapsed since Dr. Bleek introduced the scientific and methodical study of African languages into the field of philological research. To-day, the development of African linguistics has reached a point where it has become necessary to arrive at a general survey of the linguistic material available and, at the same time, to give a reliable synopsis of the extensive literature. As to the latter, Dr. Wieschhoff's recent publication¹ presents a comprehensive inventory of the most important studies arranged according to the alphabetical order of the tribal names. The author, however, has refrained from giving any commentary on the historical and ethnological problems involved.

In drafting a summary of linguistic material there are two different ways open to us. Either we may attempt a classification of languages on the basis of the linguistic groups and families to which they probably belong. This is the method followed, for example, by Miss M. A. Bryan for the Cushitic and Nilo-hamitic groups,² by Dr. Malcolm Guthrie for the Bantu family,³ and by Dr. A. N. Tucker in dealing with the eastern Sudanic languages.⁴ A valuable companion volume to Dr. Guthrie's study is provided by Prof. C. Doke's historical analysis of the grammatical and lexicographical studies which, since 1860, have contributed so much to elucidate the many intricacies of Bantu grammar.⁵

This method of classifying the available data, based as it is on the principle of linguistic relationship, has, however, the disadvantage of confining the field of inquiry (perhaps too strictly) to problems of linguistic interest only, to the exclusion of historical and ethnological factors. The latter very often appear to be of great importance when the research into the growth and development of the language, or group of languages, requires a *diachronical* method of analysis.

The alternative method is followed by Father van Bulck who approaches the problem of how to describe the units of a given group of languages from quite a different angle.

¹ H. A. Wieschhoff, *Anthropological Bibliography of Negro Africa*. American Oriental Series, vol. 23 (1948).

² M. A. Bryan, *The Distribution of the Semitic and Cushitic Languages of Africa*, International African Institute (1949); id., *The Distribution of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic Languages of Africa* (ibid., 1948).

³ Malcolm Guthrie, *The Classification of the Bantu Languages* (ibid., 1948).

⁴ A. N. Tucker, *The Eastern Sudanic Languages* (1940).

⁵ C. Doke, *Bantu. Modern Grammatical Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860*, International African Institute (1945).

Instead of taking *linguistic* relationship as the point of departure the author has singled out a limited *geographical* area. By taking into account the enormous variety of ethnological data and tribal traditions he has obtained a background against which he has delineated the diffusion of the many dialects and languages within the area of the Belgian Congo. In this way he has succeeded in giving a general schema of the linguistic situation in the colony which, though provisional, is extremely convincing.

The concise survey (given in the introductory chapters) of the Pygmaean, Nilo-hamitic and Sudanic language as spoken in the northern and north-eastern parts of the Congo¹ again raises the thorny problem of the so-called semi-Bantu languages in the frontier zone between the Bantu and the Sudanic and Nilotic groups. This problem can only be solved by a conscientious and painstaking research *in loco*, and such an investigation, in which Father van Bulck himself is taking part, is being organized by the International African Institute.

The main part of the work is devoted to the problem of classifying and determining the interrelation of the Bantu languages within the area mentioned. As it would take me too far afield to enter *in extenso* into the many points of interest raised by the author in the course of his learned discussion I will confine myself here to mentioning some of his more important and noteworthy conclusions.

Firstly, Father van Bulck slightly diverges from the well-known classification by Professor Doke, primarily in consequence of his theory that, in most cases, a younger layer appears to overlay an older substratum, as, for example, in the Kasai (the Bena-Lulua 'hunters') and in Katanga. Here a difficulty crops up. The author distinguishes between three different migrations. One, in the north, bringing in the 'archaic' Bantu; afterwards the so-called 'vieux Bantous du Nord', and finally, in the seventeenth century the younger northern Bantu. The second migration took place in the east and spread over the southern, south-eastern, and central parts of the country. Afterwards, in the northern and western parts of the colony some clans belonging to this second wave laid the foundations of the Baluba and Kongo empires. Lastly, a third migration in the west brought with it the 'older' Bantu (Duala, &c.), the substrata of the Kwaanza and the Kasai, and both the younger and the older layers of the 'cuvette' in the north-west (pp. 645 seqq.). It is to be hoped that the discovery of this extremely complicated historical process, of which only the general outlines can as yet be traced, will be followed by a closer study of the many important details which may still come to light in the near future.

In the concluding chapter Father van Bulck touches on the important problem of the unification of native languages for administrative and educational purposes.² Prof. Doke's well-known proposals for introducing Union-Shona into some sections of Southern Rhodesia as well as Dr. Tucker's suggestions³ for the southern Nilotic languages have already paved the way for putting into practice the principle of unification on a larger scale. According to the distinguished author, no less than six different unified languages would be required to meet the exigencies of oral and literary intercourse throughout the territory of the Congo, comprising Ruanda-Urundi, Kongo, Luba, Nkundu-Mongo, Zande and Bira-Kumu-Rega, without mentioning the *linguae francae* Kingwana and Lingala.

In fine, the wealth of material given in Father van Bulck's valuable publication is such that no review can do it full justice. It should find a place in the library of everyone who, from the linguistic, the ethnological or the historical point of view, is interested in the Belgian Congo.

H. P. BLOK

¹ Cf. G. van Bulck, *Niloten en Sudantalen*, in *Handelingen van het XVII^{de} Vlaamse Filologencongres* (Leuven, 1947), pp. 234 seqq.

² Cf. E. Westphal, 'The Unification of Bantu Languages', *African Studies*, v (1946), pp. 54 seqq.;

Duncan MacDougald, *The Languages and Press of Africa* (African Handbooks, vol. iv), University of Pennsylvania, 1944.

³ A. N. Tucker, 'Unificatie der Zuid-nilotische talen', *Kongo-Overzee*, 1947, no. v, pp. 223 seqq.

Ela Oso Ozuakole. By K. Achinivu. Pp. 14. *Ele Otete Nwanye n' Ala Igbo*. By J. A. DUREKE. Pp. 28. *Egwu Onwa*. By J. A. DUREKE. Pp. 16. Sidgwick and Jackson, 1948.

AFRICAN literature falls into two main classes. There is the rich store of unwritten songs, poems, stories, proverbs, and traditions that we should make every effort to collect and write down before an important chapter in African thought and artistic creation vanishes beyond recovery. But by the side of this traditional literature there is growing up a small body of contemporary writing by African authors, the development of which will be keenly followed by those interested in present-day trends of thought as well as by those concerned with reading material for newly literate and other readers.

The three booklets listed above are by two Igbo writers and each book is a description and a critical examination of some aspect of Igbo life or custom. The first deals with a biennial festival performed at Ozuakole, the second with moonlight games and dancing such as are common throughout Igbo country. In his second paragraph Mr. Achinivu strikes the keynote of both books. He says that he is describing the Ozuakole festival so that people may understand what it is. And he hopes that his writing will make Igbo people think about their customs and make them consider what parts of them should be retained, what discarded, and what improved. Both writers are Christians and both want to retain what they believe to be sound in pagan practice and consonant with a Christian framework of life.

The third booklet is about polygyny and in an interesting discussion of the subject, largely from an economic point of view, the author suggests that in modern conditions polygyny is outmoded and unsuitable.

Both writers insist that Africans must understand their own customs and their social implications if they are to make wise decisions concerning them. This is a healthy move in the direction of a reasonable integration of indigenous and alien cultures and since the books are written in Igbo, they will be available to other readers than the small minority literate in English. Their idiomatic Igbo and racy descriptions should ensure for them the popularity they deserve.

From another point of view also they are valuable. One of the difficulties besetting authors in many parts of Africa, and nowhere more than in Igbo country, is the lack of a generally accepted standard of script and spelling. It is difficult for those who have not witnessed it to imagine the discouragement that such a lack of standard produces in a would-be author. A well-established literary talent would hardly survive a hesitation as to how to spell every second word. Much less will an untried author venture against such obstacles. These booklets are published in the revised script and spelling in use in the Igbo Translation Bureau. Others are following on their heels, including two illustrated translations, published this month, of the British Council booklets *Healthy Happy Children* and *London Streets*. Other books are in the press and in preparation. Nothing will help so much towards the standardization of spelling as a steady flow of books in a standard version and this in its turn will help towards further book production.

It is fortunate that some publishers are sufficiently enterprising to embark on the publication of books in African languages. And in the present case they are also to be congratulated on the excellent type and pleasing format adopted.

M. M. GREEN

ERRATUM

WITH reference to a statement in the article 'Dual organization in Ibo social structure' (*Africa*, xix. 2, p. 150) Miss M. M. Green points out that her book *Ibo Village Affairs* was published, not written, eleven years after the conclusion of her field work.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bull. du CEPSE	Bulletin du centre d'étude des problèmes sociaux indigènes.
Bull. Jurid. indig.	Bulletin des juridictions indigènes et du droit coutumier congolais.
IFAN	Institut français d'Afrique noire (Dakar).
NADA	Native Affairs Department Annual (S. Rhodesia).
Sudan Notes	Sudan notes and records.
Tanganyika Notes	Tanganyika notes and records.

Other titles are abbreviated in accordance with the International Code.

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